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The Iroquois Trail.

—OR—

FOOT-PRINTS

—OF THE—

SIX NATIONS,

—IN—

Customs, Traditions, and History,

—BY—

W. M. BEAUCHAMP, S. T. D.,

IN WHICH ARE INCLUDED

DAVID CUSICK'S SKETCHES

—OF—

Ancient History of the Six Nations.

Printed by H. C. BEAUCHAMP,
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Fayetteville, N. Y.

1892.

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William M. Beauchamp.

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PREFACE.

The four hundredth year of European-American history will be marked by many publications recalling early days, and among these the present volume may find a proper place. Cusick's history has been largely quoted in recent years, with too much deference to its authority, but has become so scarce that a reissue seemed desirable. At the same time it seemed well to add a few explanatory notes, out of a vast number collected. The work has been done under some difficulties of arrangement and proof reading, but the important errors have been noted in the list of errata. The author may add that he has long been engaged in antiquarian work relating to the Iroquois and other early inhabitants of New York, and has enjoyed the advantage of long personal acquaintance with the Onondagas. His extended field work, and collation of authorities, has led him to differ from some conclusions of others.

W. M. B.

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DAVID CUSICK'S

SKETCHES OF

ANCIENT HISTORY

OF THE

SIX NATIONS,

COMPRISING

FIRST—A TALE OF THE FOUNDATION OF THE

GREAT ISLAND,

(NOW NORTH AMERICA,)

THE TWO INFANTS BORN,

——AND THE——

CREATION OF THE UNIVERSE.

SECOND—A REAL ACCOUNT OF THE EARLY SETTLERS OF NORTH AMERICA, AND THEIR DISSENSIONS.

THIRD—ORIGIN OF THE KINGDOM OF THE FIVE NATIONS, WHICH WAS CALLED

A LONG HOUSE:

THE WARS, FIERCE ANIMALS, &c.

RECORDER PRINT, FAYETTEVILLE, N. Y.

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PREFACE.

I have been long waiting in hopes that some of my people, who have received an English education, would have undertaken the work as to give a sketch of the Ancient History of the Six Nations; but found no one seemed to concur in the matter, after some hesitation I determined to commence the work; but found the history involved with fables; and besides, examining myself, finding so small educated that it was impossible for me to compose the work without much difficulty. After various reasons I abandoned the idea; I however, took a resolution to continue the work, which I have taken much pains procuring the materials, and translating it into English language. I have endeavored to throw some light on the history of the original population of the country, which I believe never have been recorded. I hope this little work will be acceptable to the public.

Tuscarora Village, June 10th, 1825. DAVID CUSICK.

PART I.

A Tale of the Foundation of the Great Island, now North America:—The two Infants born, and the Creation of the Universe.

Among the ancients there were two worlds in existence. The lower world was in a great darkness; the possession of the great monster; but the upper world was inhabited by mankind; and there was a woman conceived and would have the twin born. When her travail drew near, and her situation seemed to produce a great distress on her mind, and she was induced by some of her relatives to lay herself on a mattress which was prepared, so as to gain refreshments to her wearied body; but while she was asleep the very place sunk down

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towards the dark world. The monsters of the great water were alarmed at her appearance of descending to the lower world; in consequence, all the species of the creatures were immediately collected into where it was expected she would fall. When the monsters were assembled, and they made consultation, one of them was appointed in haste to search the great deep, in order to procure some earth, if it could be obtained; accordingly the monster descends, which succeeds, and returns to the place. Another requisition was presented, who would be capable to secure the woman from the terrors of the great water, but none was able to comply except a large turtle came forward and made proposal to them to endure her lasting weight, which was accepted. The woman was yet descending from a great distance. The turtle executes upon the spot, and a small quantity of earth was varnished on the back part of the turtle. The woman alights on the seat prepared, and she receives a satisfaction. While holding her, the turtle increased every moment, and become a considerable island of earth, and apparently covered with small bushes. The woman remained in a state of unlimited darkness, and she was overtaken by her travail to which she was subject. While she was in the limits of distress one of the infants was moved by an evil opinion, and he was determined to pass out under the side of the parent's arm, and the other infant in vain endeavored to prevent his design. The woman was in a painful condition during the time of their disputes, and the infants entered the dark world by compulsion, and their parent expired in a few moments. They had the power of sustenance without a nurse, and remained in the dark regions. After a time the turtle increased to a great Island, and the infants were grown up, and one of them possessed with a gentle disposition and named Enigorio, i. e., the good mind. The other youth possessed an insolence of character, and was named Enigonhahetgea, i. e., the bad mind. The good mind was not contented to remain in a dark situation, and he was anxious to create a great light in the dark world; but the bad mind was desirous that the world

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should remain in a natural state. The good mind determined to prosecute his designs, and therefore commences the work of creation. At first he took the parent's head, (the deceased) of which he created an orb, and established it in the center of the firmament, and it became of a very superior nature to bestow light to the new world, (now the sun) and again he took the remnant of the body, and formed another orb, which was inferior to the light, (now the moon.) In the orb a cloud of legs appeared to prove it was the body of the good mind, (parent.) The former was to give light to the day, and the latter to the night; and he also created numerous spots of light, (now stars;) these were to regulate the days, nights, seasons, years, etc. Whenever the light extended to the dark world the monsters were displeased and immediately concealed themselves in the deep places, lest they should be discovered by some human beings. The good mind continued the works of creation, and he formed numerous creeks and rivers on the Great Island, and then created numerous species of animals of the smallest and greatest, to inhabit the forests, and fish of all kinds to inhabit the waters. When he had made the universe he was in doubt respecting some being to possess the Great Island; and he formed two images of the dust of the ground in his own likeness, male and female, and by his breathing into their nostrils he gave them the living souls, and named them Ea-gwe-howe, i. e., a real people; and he gave the Great Island, all the animals of game for their maintenance; and he appointed thunder to water the earth by frequent rains, agreeable to the nature of the system; after this the Island became fruitful, and vegetation afforded the animals subsistence. The bad mind, while his brother was making the universe, went throughout the Island and made numerous high mountains and falls of water, and great steeps, and also creates various reptiles which would be injurious to mankind; but the good mind restored the Island to its former condition. The bad mind proceeded further in his motives, and he made two images of clay in the form of mankind; but while he

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was giving them existence they became apes; and when he had not the power to create mankind he was envious against his brother; and again he made two of clay. The good mind discovered his brother's contrivances, and aided in giving them living souls, * (It is said these had the most knowledge of good and evil.) The good mind now accomplishes the works of creation, notwithstanding the imaginations of the bad mind were continually evil; and he attempted to enclose all the animals of game in the earth, so as to deprive them from mankind; but the good mind released them from confinement, (the animals were dispersed, and traces of them were made on the rocks near the cave where it was closed.) The good mind experiences that his brother was at variance with the works of creation, and feels not disposed to favor any of his proceedings, but gives admonitions of his future state. Afterwards the good mind requested his brother to accompany him, as he was proposed to inspect the game, etc., but when a short distance from their nominal residence, the bad mind became so unmanly that he could not conduct his brother any more. The bad mind offered a challenge to his brother and resolved that who gains the victory should govern the universe; and appointed a day to meet the contest. The good mind was willing to submit to the offer, and he enters the reconciliation with his brother; which he falsely mentions that by whipping with flags would destroy his temporal life; and he earnestly solicits his brother also to notice the instrument of death, which he manifestly relates by the use of deer horns, beating his body he would expire. On the day appointed the engagement commenced, which lasted for two days; after pulling up the trees and mountains as the track of a terrible whirlwind, at last the good mind gains the victory by using the horns, as mentioned the instrument of death, which he succeeded in de-

* It appears by the fictitious accounts that the said beings become civilized people, and made their residence in the southern parts of the Island; but afterwards they were destroyed by the barbarous nations, and their fortifications were ruined unto this day.

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ceiving his brother, and he crushed him in the earth; and the last words uttered from the bad mind were, that he would have equal power over the souls of mankind after death; and he sinks down to eternal doom, and became the Evil Spirit. After this tumult the good mind repaired to the battle ground, and then visited the people and retires from the earth.

PART II.

A real account of the settlement of North America and their dissensions.

In the ancient days the Great Island appeared upon the big waters, the earth brought forth trees, herbs, vegetables, etc. the creation of the land animals; the Eagwehoewe people were too created, and resided in the north regions, and after a time some of the people become giants and committed outrages upon the inhabitants, etc. After many years a body of Eagwehoewe people encamped on the bank of a majestic stream, and was named *Kanawage*, now St. Lawrence. After a long time a number of foreign people sailed from a port unknown; but unfortunately before reached their destination the winds drove them contrary; at length their ship wrecked somewhere on the southern part of the Great Island, and many of the crews perished; a few active persons were saved; they obtained some implements and each of them was covered with a leather bag, the big hawks carried them on the summit of a mountain and remained there but a short time the hawks seemed to threaten them, and were compelled to leave the mountain. They immediately selected a place for residence and built a small fortification in order to provide against the attacks of furious beasts; if there should be any made. After many years the foreign people became numerous, and extended their settlements; but afterwards they were destroyed by the monsters that overrun the country. About this time the Eagwehoewe people inhabited on the river Kanawaga or St. Lawrence; but they could not enjoy tranquility, as they were invaded by the giants called Ronnongwetowanea, who came from the north and inhabited considerably; but their mode

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of attack was slily, and never dared to precipitate themselves upon the enemy without prospect of success; especially they took advantage when the warriors were absent from the town. After plundering the people's houses and making captives those who were found, and hastily retreat to their residence in the north. An instance—a family of princes lived near the river St. Lawrence, of whom, containing six brothers and a sister and their father, was a noble chieftain, who fell at the contest of the enemy. One time the brothers went out a day's hunt and leaving their sister alone in the camp; unfortunately while they were gone the giant makes vigorous attacks and the woman soon became a prey to the invaders. On the eve the brothers returned and were much grieved that their sister was found missing; they immediately made a search, but the night was getting too late, and the darkness prevented them. On the morning the eldest brother determined to pursue the enemy until he could discover something about their sister, and promised to return in seven days if nothing should happen, accordingly the prince set out and pursued the traces of the enemy; after journeyed three days he reached the giant's residence about sundown; at first sight he discovered his sister was gathering some sticks for fuel near the house; but as he approached the sister retired; the princess soon proved by her conduct that she had fell in love with the giant, and that it was impossible to gain her confidence. The prince was now brought to a point of view about the dread of the enemy; but however he was willing to risk the dangers he was about to meet; he remained until about dusk and then entered the house; happily he was received with most favorable terms, and his fears were soon dissipated, the giant offered his pipe as a tribute of respect, which the prince accepted. After receiving the evening diet they talked a good while without a least appearance of hostility; as the night was getting late the prince was invited to a bed; but the giant was now acting to deceive the prince; he commenced to amuse him part of the night in singing songs; the giant had determined to assassinate the vis-

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iter the first opportunity as the prince was so fatigued that he was now fast asleep; he killed him on the bed and the body was deposited in a cave near the house where he had stored the carcasses. The giant was much pleased of his conquest over the prince, he advised his wife to watch daily in order to impose on another enemy. The seven days elapsed, as the brother did not return the youngest brother Donhtonha was much excited about his brother and resolved to pursue him; the Donhtonha was the most stoutest and ferocious looking fellow, after arming himself commenced the journey, and also arrived at the place and time as mentioned, and found his sister; but before he had time to reconcile her she returned to the house as she had formerly done, and informed the giant that some person was coming: the Donhtonha entered the house with appearances of hostile disposition, and enquired for his brother; this produced alarm; the giant was promptly to pacify the prince; he replied that he had made peace with the brother, who had gone to visit some people in the neighborhood, and it was expected he would return every moment. Upon this assurance the Donhtonha became some abated; the sister provided some food and he soon enjoyed the domestic felicity; but, alas, the giant was far from being friendly and was only forming a plan to deceive the visiter. The evening was late, the Donhtonha was out of patience waiting for his brother to come home, and renewed his enquiries; the visitor was invited to bed; the giant was in hopes to exterminate the visiter; he rose from his seat and commenced his usual custom in singing. The Donhtonha perceived that some evil design was performing against him and resolved to abandon the bed for awhile; he begged leave for a few moments and went out after various considerations from being imposed; he procured some pieces of wood which produced a faint light in the night and put it above his eyelids and again went to bed; the giant was now deceived; while the visiter was asleep his eyes appeared as though he was awake continually. As soon as day light the visiter hurried from the bed, and was about to make a search for

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the deceased brother, but the giant protested which soon excited suspicions of the act; after a long debate the Donhtonha attacked the giant; a severe conflict ensued, at last the giant was killed; and burnt him in the ruins of his house, but his spirit fled to heaven and changed into one of the eastern stars. During the engagement his sister was grieved and fled to the wilderness, and lamented for her deceased husband, and she died in despair, and her spirit also became one of the northern stars. After the conquest the search was prosecuted, he discoved the remains of his brother and weeps over it and burnt it to ashes.

At a time another Ronnongwetowanea attacked a small town located on the bank of the Kanawage, (St. Lawrence.) This occurred in a season when the people were out to hunt, and there was no person in the town except an old chief and an attendant named Yatatonwatea; while they were enjoying repose in their houses were suddenly attacked by the Ronnongwetowanea; but the Yatatonwatea escaped, went out the back door and deserted the aged chief to the fate; however the enemy spared no time, the chase was soon prosecuted which caused the Yatatonatea to retreat as fast as possible; he attempted to make resistance in various places, but was compelled to retire at the appearance of the enemy; in vain he endeavored to gain retreat by traversing various creeks and hills; he undertook a new method of giving little effect upon the progress of the enemy; after running some distance he discovered which would promptly cherish the imposition, he drove a flock of pigeons in the way to amuse the (giant) until he could hide himself under the bank of the river, unfortunately the flattering hope seemed to fail; after remaining there but a short time before he saw the enemy was coming in full speed, and was soon obliged to abandon the position and continue the flight; again he tried to conceal himself among the rocks of the mountains, but in a mean time the enemy advanced at the moment, of which he became dismayed, finding that nothing could resist the impetuosity of the pursuer, but determined not to surrender as long as he was capa-

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ble to keep out of the reach; he immediately took the path which leads to the hunting grounds in search of some people fortunately at a short distance met two warriors and he was instantly supported and made vigorous resistance; after terrible combat the Ronnongwetowanea was exterminated; during the time the warriors conducted themselves as heroes, which gained the triumph, notwithstanding one of them received a severe wound by the club. The Yatatonwatea with alarm whoop hastened to the encampment and advised the people of the substance and the dangers which the enemy might commit upon the vacant towns. As soon as the people received the intelligence immediately returned to their settlements, and a convention were held by the chieftains in order to take some measures to defend their country. As the Ronnongwetowanea tribe were not numerous and deemed it inexpedient to raise a large force and therefore a few hundred warriors were sent to subdue them; after decisive contests the warriors gained the victory; and it was supposed that the Ronnongwetowanea tribe has ever since ceased to exist. (This fate happened probably about two thousand five hundred winters before Columbus discovered the America.) The depredations of the enemy which so often exercised upon the inhabitants were now terminated; and the country enjoyed without disturbance many winters. About this time a mischievous person named Shotyerronsgwea, while visiting the people at first distinguished himself of a good character and in mean time gained the confidence of the people; by doing this he was fairly concealed from being discovered of his real designs, and in a short time began to injure the people; he assassinated two warriors secretly, and then violated six virgins, etc. And the next he ventured to break the harmony of the nation and created dissensions among the people. At this the chiefs were so offended that the Shotyeronsgwea was banished from the village; when he received this treatment he deemed proper to desist from going back to any of the towns; he immediately crossed the river St. Lawrence and move toward the mid-day sun, and he came to

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a town situated south of the great lake (Ontario) and he was received with kindness; but his entertainment could not appease his evil designs; though he appeared reconciled, one night while at the dancing house he killed several warriors; this offence he discovered should prove fatal to his person, and was compelled to leave the town and went some other place to do mischief. The Shotyeronagwea was the greatest mischievous person that ever existed on the continent. He was considered an agent from bad spirit. About this time Big Quisquiss (perhaps the Mammoth) invaded the settlements south of Ontario lake; the furious animal push down the houses and made a great disturbance; the people was compelled to flee from the terrible monster; the warriors made opposition but failed; at length a certain chief warrior collected the men from several towns—a severe engagement took place, at last the monster retired, but the people could not remain long without being disturbed; Big Elk invaded the towns; the animal was furious and destroyed many persons; however the men were soon collected—a severe contest ensued and the monster was killed.

About this time the northern nations formed a confederacy and seated a great council fire on river St. Lawrence; the northern nations possessed the bank of the great lakes; the countries in the north were plenty of beavers, but the hunters were often opposed by the big snakes. The people live on the south side of the Big Lakes make bread of roots and obtain a kind of potatoes and beans found on the rich soil.

Perhaps about two thousand two hundred years before the Columbus discovered the America, and northern nations appointed a prince, and immediately repaired to the south and visited the great Emperor who resided at the Golden City, a capital of the vast empire. After a time the Emperor built many forts throughout his dominions and almost penetrated the lake Erie; this produced an excitement, the people of the north felt that they would soon be deprived of the country on the south side of the Great Lakes they determined to defend their country

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against any infringement of foreign people: long bloody wars ensued which perhaps lasted about one hundred years; the people of the north were too skillful in the use of bows and arrows and could endure hardships which proved fatal to a foreign people; at last the northern nations gained the conquest and all the towns and forts were totally destroyed and left them in the heap of ruins.

About this time a great horned serpent appeared on lake Ontario, the serpent produced diseases and many of the people died, but by the aid of thunder bolts the monster was compelled to retire. A blazing star fell into a fort situated on the St. Lawrence and destroyed the people; this event was considered as a warning of their destruction. After a time a war broke out among the northern nations which continued until they had utterly destroyed each other, the island again become in possession of fierce animals.

PART III.

Origin of the Kingdom of the Five Nations, which was called a Long House; the Wars, Fierce Animals, etc.

By some inducement a body of people was concealed in the mountain at the falls named Kuskehsawkich, (now Oswego.) When the people were released from the mountain they were visited by *Tarenyawagon*, i. e. the Holder of the Heavens, who had power to change himself into various shapes; he ordered the people to proceed towards the sunrise as he guided them and come to a river and named Yenonanatche, i. e. going round a mountain, (now Mohawk,) and went down the bank of the river and come to where it discharges into a great river running towards the midday sun; and Shaw-nay-taw-ty, i. e beyond the Pineries, (now Hudson,) and went down the bank of the river and touched bank of a great water. The company made encampment at the place and remained there a few days. The people were yet in one language; some of the people went to the banks of the great water towards the midday sun; but the main company returned as they came, on the bank of the river, under

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the direction of the holder of the Heavens. Of this company there was a particular body which called themselves one houset hold; of these were six families and they entered into a resolution to preserve the chain of alliance which should not be extinguished in any manner. The company advanced some distance up the river of Shaw-na-taw-ty, (Hudson) the Holder of the Heavens directs the first family to make their residence near the bank of the river, and the family was named Te-haw-re-ho-geh, i. e. a speech divided, (now Mohawk) and their language was soon altered; the company then turned and went towards the sunsetting, and travelled about two days and a half, and come to a creek,* which was named Kaw-na-taw-te-ruh, i. e. Pineries. The second family was directed to make their residence near the creek, and the family was named Ne-haw-re-tah-go, i. e. Big Tree, now Oneidas, and likewise their language was altered. The company continued to proceed towards the sunsetting; under the direction of the Holder of the Heavens. The third family was directed to make their residence on a mountain named Onondaga,(now Onondaga) and the family was named Seuh-now-kah-tah, i. e. carrying the name, and their language was altered. The company continued their journey towards the sunsetting. The fourth family was directed to make their residence near a long lake named Go-yo-goh, i. e. a mountain rising from water, (now Cayuga) and the family was named Sho-nea-na-we-to-wah, i. e. a great pipe, their language was altered. The company continued to proceed towards the sunsetting. The fifth family was directed to make their residence near a high mountain, or rather nole, situated south of the Canandaigua lake, which was named Jenneatowake and the family was named Te-how-nea-nyo-hent, i. e. Possessing a Door, now Seneca, and their language was altered. The sixth family went with the company that journeyed towards the sunsetting, and touched the bank of a

* The creek now branches off the Susquehanna River at the head generally called Col. Allen's lake, ten miles south of the Oneida Castle.

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great lake, and named Kau-ha-gwa-rah-ka, i. e. A Cap, now Erie, and then went towards between the mid-day and sunsetting, and travelled considerable distance and come to a large river which was named Ouau-we-yo-ka, i. e. a principal stream, now Mississippi; the people discovered a grape vine lying across the river by which a part of the people went over,* but while they were engaged, the vine broke, and were divided, they became enemies to those who went over the river; in consequence they were obliged to dispense the journey. The Holder of the Heavens instruct them in the art of bows and arrows in the time of game and danger. Associates are dispersed, and each family went to search for residences according to their conveniences of game. The sixth family went towards the sunrise and touched the bank of the great water. The family was directed to make their residence near Cau-ta-noh, i. e. Pine in water, situated near the mouth of the Nuse river, now in North Carolina, and the family was named Kau-ta-noh, now Tuscarora and their language was also altered; but the six families did not go so far as to loose the understanding of each others language. The Holder of the Heavens returns to the five families and forms the mode of confederacy which was named Ggo-nea-seab-neh, i. e. A Long House, to which are 1st—Tea-kaw-reh-ho-geh; 2d—New-haw-teh-tah-go; 3d—Seuh-nau-ka-ta; 4th—Sho-nea-na-we-to-wan; 5th—Te-hoonea-nyo-hent. About this time it is supposed an agent from superior power solemnly visits the families, and he instructs them in various things respecting the infinity, matrimony, moral rules, worship, etc.; and he warns them that an evil spirit was in the world and would induce the people to commit trespasses against the rules he had given them; and he offers them favorable promises of obedience to rules, the souls would enter the place of happiness; but to the disobedient their souls would be sent to a state of misery. And he gives the seeds for corn, beans,

* By Some this may seem an incredible story. Why more so than that the Israelites should cross the Red Sea on dry land.

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squashes, potatoes and tobacco, with directions how to cultivate them; and he gives them the dogs to aid in pursuing the game; and he repeats the administration of the game; and that the great country was given for their people's maintenance. When he ended the interview of consolation he leaves.

About one hundred winters since the people left the mountain,—the five families were increased, and made some villages in the country. The Holder of the Heavens was absent from the country, which was destitute of the visits of the Governor of the Universe. The reason produced the occasion that they were invaded by the monsters called Ko-nea-rau-neh-neh, i. e., Flying Heads, which devoured several people of the country. The Flying Heads made invasions in the night; but the people were attentive to escape by leaving their huts and concealing themselves in other huts prepared for that purpose. An instance:—there was an old woman which resided at Onondaga; she was left alone in the hut at evening, while others deserted. She was setting near the fire parching some acorns when the monstrous Head made its appearance at the door; while viewing the woman it was amazed that she eat the coals of fire, by which the monsters were put to flight, and ever since the heads disappeared and were supposed concealed in the earth. After a short time the people were invaded by the monster of the deep; the Lake Serpent traverses the country, which interrupted their intercourse. The five families were compelled to make fortifications throughout their respective towns, in order to secure themselves from the devouring monsters. The manner of making the fort: at first they set fire against several trees as requires to make a fort, and the stone axes are used to rub off the coals, as to burn quicker; when the tree burns down they put fires to it about three paces apart and burns it down in half a day; the logs are collected to a place where they set up round according to the bigness of the fort, and the earth is heaped on both sides. A fort generally has two gates; one for passage, and the other to obtain water. The people had implements which they used to make bow and

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arrows. The kettle is made of baked clay in which the meat is boiled; the awl and needles are made of hard bone; a pipe for smoking, is made of baked clay, or soft stone; a small turtle shell is used to peel the bark; a small dry stick is used to make a fire, by boring it against the seasoned wood.

Perhaps about 1250 years before Columbus discovered the America, about two hundred and fifty winters since the people left the mountain, the five families became numerous and extended their settlements, as the country had been exposed to the invasion of the monsters, that the people could not enjoy but a short space of time without being molested. About this time a powerful tribe of the wilderness, called Ot-ne-yar-heh, i. e. Stonish Giants * overrun the country and the warriors were immediately collected from several towns and a severe combat took place, but the warriors were overpowered and the people fell at the mercy of the invaders, and the people were threatened with destruction, and the country was brought to subjection for many winters. As the people have been reduced so often they could not increase. The Stonish Giants were so ravenous that they devoured the people of almost every town in the country; but happily the Holder of the Heavens again visits the people and he observes that the people were in distressed condition on the account of the enemy. With a stratagem he proceeds to banish their invaders, and he changes himself into a giant, and combines the Stonish Giants, he introduces them to take the lead to destroy the people of the country; but a day's march they did not reach the fort Onondaga, where they intended to invade, and he ordered them to lay

* It appears by the traditions of the Shawnees that the Stonish Giants descend from a certain family that journeyed on the east side of Mississippi River, went towards the northwest after they were separated, on account of the vine broke. The family was left to seek its habitation, and the rules of humanity were forgotten, and afterwards eat raw flesh of the animals. At length they practiced rolling themselves on the sand, by means their bodies were covered with hard skin these people became giants and were dreadful invaders of the country. It is said that Sir William Johnson, the Superintendents of the Six Nations, had a picture of the giant. Probably the English have recorded in the Historian respecting North America.

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in a deep hollow * during the night and they would make attack on the following morning. At a dawn of the day, the Holder of the Heavens ascended upon the heights and he overwhelms them by a mass of rocks, and only one escaped to announce the dreadful fate; and since of the event the Stonish Giants left the country and seeks an asylum in the regions of the north. The families were now preserved from extinction. The Lake Serpent discovers the powerful operations of the Holder of the Heavens, instantly retreats into the deep places of the lakes. After the banishment of the monster of the deep made its appearance in the country; a snake with the shape of human head opposed the passage between the Onondaga and Go-yo-gouh, now Cayuga, which prevented their intercourse, as the snake had seated near the principal path leads through the settlements of the Five Families. The people were troubled of their condition, and finally they determined to make resistance. They selected the best warriors at Onondaga, and after they were organized and prepared proceeded to the place; after a severe conflict the snake was killed; the lake serpent was often seen by the people, but the thunder bolt destroyed the serpent or compelled them to retire into the deep. About this time they were various nations inhabited the southern countries, these nations descended from the families that were dispersed after the vine broke on Onauweyeka, (Mississippi). The Holder of the Heavens visited the Five Families and instructed them in the arts of war, and favors them to gain the country beyound their limits, after which he disappeared.

Perhaps 1,000 years before Columbus discovered the America.—About this time the Five Families become independent nations, and they formed a council fire in each nation, etc. Unfortunately a war broke out among the Five Nations; during the unhappy differences the Atotarho was the most hostile chief, re-

* The hollow it is said not far from Onondaga. Some says the Giants retreated by way of Mountain Ridge and crossed below the Niagara Falls

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sided at the fort Onondaga; his head and body was ornamented with black snakes;—his dishes and spoons were made of skulls of the enemy; after a while he requested the people to change his dress, the people immediately drove away the snakes—a mass of wampam were collected and the chief was soon dressed in a large belt of wampam; he become a law giver, and renewed the chain of alliance of the Five Nations and framed their internal government, which took five years in accomplishing it. At Onondaga a tree of peace was planted reached the clouds of Heaven; under the shade of this tree the Senators are invited to set and delilerate, and smoke the pipe of peace as ratification of their proceedings; a great council fire was kindled under the majestic tree, having four branches, one pointed to the south, west, east, north; the neighboring nations were amazed at the powerful confederates; the Onondaga was considered a heart of the country; numerous belts and strings of wampam were left with the famous chief as record of alliance, etc., after he had accomplished the noble work he was immediately named Atotarho, King of the Five nations; and was governed by the Senate, chosen by the people annually; the successor of the kings to follow the woman's line. About this time the Te-hoo-nea-nyo-hent, or Senecas, was at war with the Squawkeihows, a powerful tribe past the banks of the Genesee river; after various engagements the Senecas sent an army to scourge the enemy, but were repulsed with a severe loss; the melancholy intelligence was soon conveyed to Onondaga and informed the king of their defeat; a powerful army of the allies were soon directed against the Squawkihows; after a long siege the principal fort was surrendered without discretion, and the chief was taken prisoner, put to death, the war terminated, however a remnant of the Squawkeihows were allowed to remain in the country and became vassals to the five nations after the conquest. The government ordered the Senecas to settle the country and to build forts on the Genesee River, as to keep Squawkhaws in subjection, for fearing in time they might create a re-

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bellion. The Senecas now possessed along the bank of the Great Lake, now Ontario, to the creek called Kenaukarent, now Oak Orchard, the bank of the river Onyakarra, now Niagara, possessed by Twakanhah, (Mississaugers.)

In the days the king Atotarho II. about this time the Oyalquoher, or big bear invaded the territory of the five nations, the hunters were often attacked by these monsters. At the village of Ohiokea, situated west of Oneida creek, a small party went out to hunt and encamped near the lake Skonyatales; one morning while they were in the camp a noise broke out in the lake; a man was sent immediately to see the tumult; he saw a great bear on the bank rolling down stones and logs; the monster appeared to be in a great rage; a lion came out of the lake and suddenly fell upon the bear, a severe contest ensued, in the mean time the bear was beaten and was compelled to leave the bank, the next day the men went in search of the bear; they found the bear; one of the fore legs was so heavy that two men could not lift but a hands high, they procured some of the meat for useful purposes in the time of war. About this time a great musqueto invaded the fort Onondaga; the musqueto was mischievous to the people, it flew about the fort with a long stinger, and sucked the blood a number of lives; the warriors made several oppositions to expel the monster, but failed; the country was invaded until the Holder of the Heavens was pleased to visit the people; while he was visiting the king at the fort Onondaga, the musqueto made appearance as usual and flew about the fort, the Holder of the Heavens attacked the monster, it flew so rapidly that he could hardly keep in sight of it, but after a few days chase the monster began to fail; he chased on the borders of the great lakes towards the sunsetting, and round the great country; at last he overtook the monster and kill it near the salt lake Onondaga, and the blood became small musquetoes.

In the reign the king Atotarho III. About this time the Oneidas had extended their forts down the river Kaunsehwatau

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yea, or Susquehanna, a fort situated on the river, there was a certain woman delivered a male child uncommon size; when he was twelve years of age he was nearly as large as grown person, and he would beat his playmates which would create disputes, but the mother would correct him, and afterward she prevailed, he promised never to injure his people; when grown up he became a giant and was a great hunter; the parent was stored with venison continually; he was so strong that when returned from hunting he would have five or six deers and bears strung around on his belt. The giant was named Soh-nou-re-wah, i. e. Big Neck, (now Shawnees) which inhabited the banks of the river and brought several suits of dress and the scalps of whom he had killed. The Sah-wau-noo sends messengers to fort Kau-na-sen-wa-tau-yea as to demonstrate the conduct of Soh-nau-ro-wah, but the business was left upon the relatives Sau-rau-ra-wah, who persuaded him to reform his behavior for the future; he remained only two winters without making disturbance; he went down the river and whenever he came to a town he committed the same outrages upon the inhabitants and plundered the people's clothes, skins, etc. Again the Sau-wa-noo sends a deputy and reported their resentment, but determined to make hostile aggressions if not satisfaction was made on their part. The chief Ne-nau-re-tah-go sends a belt of wampum, and offered the terms of peace, which was accepted, but the Sau-rau-roh-wah was not disposed to favor the treaty; he left the fort and went down and located on the bank of Kau-nau-seh-wah-tau-yea river, (said Susquehanna,) and commenced to build a fort *; he was frequently visited by his relatives; and after the fortification was completed he resolved to continue the war against his enemies; he went from time to time and attacked the people which inhabited on the river as he had done before; he would lay in ambush near the path, and whenever the people are passing he shoots them; he

* The fort was situated on the south bank of the Susquehanna river. In 1800 I went over the ground myself and viewed the mound.

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used a plump arrow, which was so violent that it would break the body in two parts; as he became mischievous to the people that the relatives were obliged to form a plan to destroy him, but Saurauh-ro-wah was not easily to be quelled, it was supposed that ten warriors were not sufficient to equal his strength. At the fort Kou-na-seh-wa-ta-yea there went three warriors of his natives which bring him favorite diet, a mess of huckle berries, etc.: the Sah-nou-ro-wah was pleased of the visit and the food which was given; but while he was eating it one of the warriors, with a club concealed under his cloak, instantly stepped on the bench where he was sitting, and gave a fatal blow on the monster's head. he was so distracted that he ran out of the fort and was intended to cross the river, he sunk in the mire which was near the bank. the warriors prevailed and killed him on the spot; the warriors spoiled his house and obtained a large quantity of skins, etc.: and the fort was ruined ever since.

Perhaps about 800 years before the Columbus discovered the America. About this time the Twakanhahors, (now Mississaugers,) ceded the colonies lying between the Kea-nau-hau sent (Oak Orchard,) and the river Onyakarra, (Niagara) to the Five Nations.

About this time lived the king Atotarho IIII. There was a woman and son resided near the fort, which was situated near a nole, which was named Jenneatowaka, the original seat of the Te-hoo-nea-nyo-hent (Senecas,) the boy one day, while amusing in the bush he caught a small serpent called Kaistowanea, with two heads, and brings it to his apartment; the serpent was first placed in a small bark box to tame, which was fed with birds, flesh, etc. After ten winters the serpent became considerable large and rested on the beams within the hut, and the warrior was obliged to hunt deers and bears to feed the monster; but after awhile the serpent was able to maintain itself on various game; it left the hut and resided on the top of a nole; the serpent frequently visited the lake, and after thirty years it was pro-

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digious size, which in a short time inspired with an evil mind against the people, and in the night the warrior experienced the serpent was brooding some mischief, and was about to destroy the people of the fort; when the warrior was acquainted of the danger he was dismayed and soon moved to other fort; at daylight the serpent descended from the heights with the most tremendous noise of the trees, which were trampled down in such a force that the trees were uprooted, and the serpent immediately surrounded the gate; the people were taken improvidentially and brought to confusion; finding themselves circled by the monstrous serpent, some of them endeavored to pass out at the gate, and others attempted to climb over the serpent, but were unable: the people remained in this situation for several days; the warriors had made oppositions to dispel the monster, but were fruitless, and the people were distressed of their confinement, and found no other method than to rush to pass out at the gate, but the people were devoured, except a young warrior and sister, which detained, and were only left exposed to the monster, and were restrained without hopes of getting released; at length the warrior received advice from a dream, and he adorned his arms with the hairs of his sister, which he succeeded by shooting at the heart, and the serpent was mortally wounded, which hastened to retire from the fort and retreated to the lake in order to gain relief; the serpent dashed on the face of the water furiously in the time of agony; at last it vomited the substance which it had eaten and then sunk to the deep and expired. The people of the fort did not receive any assistance from their neighboring forts as the serpent was too powerful to be resisted. After the fort was demolished, the Council fire was removed to other fort called Thau-gwe-took, which was situated west of now Geneva Lake, erected bulwarks on Mountain Ridge, west of Genesee River.

About this time reigned the King Atotarho IV. At the fort Ke-dau-yer-ka-wau, (now Tonewanta plains,) a party went out to

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hunt and were attacked by the Ot-tau-wahs, which created differences between the two nations as they entered on no terms but to commence hostilities; the To-hoo-nyo-hent sends a band of warriors to attack some of the hunters as to retaliate the vengeance upon their enemies. The warriors advanced above the lake named Geattahgweah (now Chautauque) and made encampment and agreed to hunt two days, after which to proceed towards the enemies' country; the warriors went in various directions; a certain warrior passed a small brook, he discovered a strange animal resembling a dog, but could not discover the head; the creature was a greyish color, and was laying asleep exposed to the rays of the sun; and also discovered a den, supposed the place of his residence; the warrior returned to the camp at evening and related the kind of animal, and informed them, as he imagined was a very poisonous animal, and he was afraid to approach it again, but one of the jokers laughed at him and he was called a cowardly fellow; the joker determined to go himself and kill the creature without trouble, but wished some of the warriors to be spectators in the time of the engagement; accordingly the warrior went, accompanied by a number of warriors; he was directed to the spot and discovered the animal. After beating it short time with his club, he seized the animal and tied it with a tum line; but while he was lifting it the creature immediately moved to the den. With all his might he held the tum line, but he could not stop it, he was compelled to let go the tum line when the creature went beyond his reach; the warrior was confused at not being able to kill the animal; he hastened to retire from the spot, but when a few paces he was taken with the pestilence which was influenced by the creature, and suddenly died; another warrior was at sight and directly fled to carry the intelligence, but also died at a short distance, and the others returned to the camp; but the pestilence soon prevailed among the warriors, and many of them died in the same manner; a few of them escaped by leaving the camp before the plague appeared.

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and thus ended the expedition. The Ottauwahs continued their hostilities and attacked the hunters; the Senecas sent out a small party and fought—drove the enemy off, but their engagements were small and continued many winters.

In the days of king Ototarho VI, perhaps 650 years before the Columbus discovered the America, at the fort Keadanyeekowa or Tontawanta plains, a small party went out to make incursion upon the enemy that may be found within the boundaries of the kingdom. They penetrated the Ohio river and encamped on the bank; as they were out of provision, the warriors were anxious to kill a game; a certain warrior discovered a hollow tree, supposing a bear in the tree, he immediately reported; the warriors were in hopes to obtain the bear—went to the tree; one of them climbed and put a fire in it in order to drive out the creature; the warriors made ready to shoot, but were mistaken, there instantly came out a furious Lizard, and quickly grasped and leaped into the hollow of the tree and the young ones devoured it; a grumbling noise ensued, the warriors were terrified at the monstrous creature and were soon compelled to retire, except one staid at the tree while others fled; he remained until the party was destroyed and the last warrior was chased; the warrior immediately left the tree and ran on the way fortunately met the Holder of the Heavens who advised him to stop and offers the aid of material resistance which was accepted; the warrior was instructed to make fire without delay and to get some sticks to use with which to prevent the Lizard's flesh from uniting the body or being efficatious, the protector changed into a lion and laid in wait, in a meanwhile the monster came up, a severe engagement took place, the warrior hastened with a stick and began to hook the Lizard's flesh, when bit off by his defendant and throws it into the fire, by means the monster was quelled. The warrior thanked for the personal preservation. The protector vanished out of his sight. The warrior returned to the fort and related the occurrence. The war raged; the Senecas

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had sent out parties against the Ottauwahs and obtained various successes; at last the Ottauwahs sued for peace. After a few winters the Senecas gained their mutual intercourse with the Ottauwahs and other neighboring nations. About this time reigned the king Ototarho VII, who authorized by the Senate to send an expedition to explore the countries towards the setting sun, he sends a messenger to acquaint the Ottauwahs of his intention, and wished them to form such arrangements and to favor their passage, which was complied agreeable to his request. The king appointed two captains to command the expedition, about fifteen men were selected from the five nations; after they were equiped and prepared, commenced the journey and arrived at Sandusky; the King of Ottauwahs sent two warriors to accompany the expedition; on their way held several conferences with the nations and all seemed to favor their passage. They advanced the Mississippi river, a duke of Twa-kan-ah had collected the people from several towns, came out to meet them the people around them, singing, beating their little drums; after danced the ceremony was performed the band of warriors was invited into the national house. The band crossed the Mississippi and continued their course towards the sunsetting; they reached an extensive meadow; they discovered a curious animal—a winged fish, it flew about the tree; this little active creature moved like a humming bird. They continued the journey and come at the village of the Dog Tail Nation, the band was accommodated, amused with dances, and was conducted to the chief's house. They were astonished that the people had short tails like apes; a hole was made through their seats where they put their tails. The band continued their direction and come to another nation and too was kindly received, and their object was favorably accepted by the head men of the nation. During their stay, a certain warrior of the band courted a young woman, but the warrior died soon after the marriage. They observed that the people did not eat any meat but drink

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the soup. The band continued the journey, but before reaching the Rocky Mountains were arrested by a giant; the band was compelled to return; after a long journey came back to the seat and informed the king all the particulars about the journey. After a time the five nations was desirous to preserve the peace and friendship with the western nations; ambassador was sent to the Lentahkeh nation, who inhabited the country east of Ohio River (now in Kentucky); another ambassador was sent who went and lived among the Ottauwahs for several years; he married a woman and afterward obtained two children; he was invited to join a company going out a winter's hunt. They journeyed some distance, and reached their hunting grounds; but the men were so unlucky that they could kill but a few game; after a few days the people were destitute of provisions; the leader of the company commanded the overseer to select two fat persons and to kill them without delay, which was soon executed; the flesh of these victims was distributed among the people. The leader had commanded the people that if any one had killed a game the meat should be left with the overseer for distribution, and that who disobeyed, the offender should be punished in a severest manner. The ambassy killed a bear, the meat was disposed to the rules. The leader daily butchered two persons to feed the people, which only increased their distress. The people were so feeble that they were unable to hunt any more, and many of them began to famish. The ambassy again killed another game and bring it secretly to his camp, but it was soon detected and rumored among the people; at this offense the ambassy was ordered to appear before their tribunal; some men were angry at him and sought to destroy him, but the leader deemed it unjust, it would violate the treaty they had entered with the five nations; but however, to satisfy the people, the leader consented to use other method to destroy him; he commanded to strip him and to seize his clothes and the instruments; after which to extinguish their fires, and then to remove their

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camp a half day's journey distance; the offender would certainly freeze without remedy; but the ambassy was ingenious, finding that he would be surprised, instantly takes a suit of dress and bow and arrows, and hides them under the hemlock boughs which were spread in the camp. In a meanwhile the opponents entered the camp, the ambassy was stripped without discriminate, as they had determined to destroy him. The wife was compelled to leave him, or else she would share the same fate.

The company retired; he dressed himself immediately and proceeded and was in hopes to reach a fort situated near the Lake Erie; but was so fatigued that he could not travel very fast; about sunset he happened to approach on an age of a dark forest: he selected a spot where he encamped, but as he had no kind of food to eat and was quite dejected after making exertions to make himself comfortable, but failed, the weather being unfavorable, as it was cold and cloudy, however, he was seldom taken by surprise; having a good understanding about astronomical calculations, ascertained that the storm was at hand; after kindled a fire laid himself down to linger out a miserable existence which he was doomed to suffer. Early in the morning he heard some noise as something was coming, which at once attracted his attention; he was afraid; as presumed that some of his enemy had overtook him; fortunately a young man came up and sat down; the visitor showed a friendly disposition, after a short conversation the ambassy related his distressed condition; the visitor offered to relieve him as soon as possible, which was received with sanguine expectations; the ambassy was advised that a snow would fall so deep that he would be in want of a pair of snow shoes, the visitor offered the pattern, and showed him how to make the shoes. The ambassy was directed where to find the game; and did as he was bidden. On the night the young man made another visit and advised the ambassy where to catch bears; after the conversation the visitor disappeared. He succeeded and caught seven bears; after he had prepared

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some meat and the bears' oil, immediately went to the encampment in search of his wife and children, found them almost perished; at first gave them each a spoonful of oil and were soon relieved; he directed them to his camp. The ambassy was relieved from distress whilst his enemy was lingering in despair; he examined the camp and was astonished to find that the people were utterly famished; the people became so weak and faint that they were not able to make fire; those who held out had eaf the human flesh as long as they could they themselves, and were lying among the dead, the company was now exposed to destruction, as the people had put themselves to disgrace; the ambassy had refused to invite any of them except his wife's relatives; the disasters were so worn out did not reach the camp until next morning. After a few days by his exertions, the men's strength was revived, and were capable to hunt. After they had come back to the town the ambassy was so shamefully abused by the people, he was compelled to leave his wife and the country. About this time the Ottauwahs became numerous and powerful nation, occupied an extensive country lying between the Lake Erie and the Ohio river, and was supposed their national force amounted to about 4,000 men.

In the reign of King Atotarho VIII, perhaps 400 years before the Columbus discovered America. About this time the Twakauhah or Messissaugers began to wage a war against the five nations; the Senecas on the frontier were most engaged in the warfare. After various skirmishes the enemy was so excited that they determined to destroy the fort Kauhanauka (now in Tuscarora near Lewiston,) but the commander of the fort was aware of the danger, he sent messengers to the forts in the vicinity, and about eight hundred warriors were collected at fort Kauhanauka. The commander had sent runners to observe the movements of the enemy. The army marched towards the river, and hid themselves among the bushes under the mountain; the enemy came up; a bloody battle ensued; the enemy was repulsed and flies

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from the foe. The army returned to the fort; soon after the commander dispatched two runners to the forts on the Genesee river to procure assistance as soon as possible; the army received reinforcements; they made bark canoes and carried them to the mouth of the Niagara river; the canoes were ready, the commander sent a chieftain and offered the enemy an intermission or parley, bnt the proposal was not accepted; the army immediately crossed the river and made vigorous attack: the enemy was routed and fled from the bank without making resistance, retreated towards the head of the lake; after burning the huts, the army returned to the fort; but the commotions were not quelled; small parties of the Senecas often take the cances and go by water towards the head of Ontario lake, in search of the enemy, but they avoid from attack of superior force; several engagements were made on the lake with small parties of the enemy; after a while the commander of the fort Kauhanauka, was ardent to attack the main body of the enemy; he sends runners beyond the Genesee river, and obtained two thousand warriors; the army again crossed the Niagara river and proceeded towards the head of the lake, but before reached the beach met a strong force of the enemy; after a desperate contest the army retreated; the commander soon perceived that it was impossible to gain the conqest, sued for peace and offered to restore the prisoners which he took from them which was concluded. About this time the Stonish Giants were diminished, but very few found in the north regions; the Giants understood the language of the five nations, but they were a most savage tribe, and often attacked the hunters, but that set of hordes were extripated. At the Onondaga two men went out to hunt beaver, and crossed the river St. Lawrence, and went far in the north, and discovered a number of beaver dams, and killed many beavers. One day a man went alone in search of the beaver, but unfortunately he was taken prisoner by the Stonish Giant; the man was compelled to run a race with the giant, a considerable distance; after midday the

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man gained and almost went out of sight, but the giant whooped, by which the man was so affected that he fainted and fell down. The giant took advantage of him and soon passed him; the man was dismayed and turned his course, and sought to escape and endeavored to hide himself: he climbed a small tree and bent it to another tree, and leaped from tree to tree, until he reached a large basswood stump which had sprouted several branches, and seated himself in the midst of it and watched the pursuer: in a few moments the giant came up and examined the stump for some time; at length the giant exhibited a curious instrument, which he called a pointer, and possessed a power of the nature; it directed him where to find game; the giant could not live without it. The man observed the motion of the hand, and as it was about to point to him, he jumped from the stump and seized it by the fingers, and instantly possessed the valuable instrument; the giant was defeated and immediately entreated for the pointer, and offered to mention the medical roots as a mark of friendship, which was accepted; the pointer was restored to the owner, after which the giant retired; the man came home and began to doctor, and cured many diseases; he was skilled in the business and drew hair and worms from the persons whom the witches had blown into their bodies. It was supposed that the Skaunratohatihawk, or Nantcokes in the south first founded the witchcraft. Great pains were taken to procure the snakes and roots which the stuff was made of to poison the people. The witches formed into a secret society; they met in the night and consult on various subject respecting their engagements; when a person becomes a member of their society, he is forbidden to reveal any of their proceedings. The witches in the night could turn into foxes and wolves, and run very swift, attending with flashes of light. The witches sometimes turned into a turkey or big owl, and can fly very fast, and go from town to town, and blow hairs and worms into a person; if the witches are discovered by some person they turn into a stone or rotten log; in this situation they

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are entirely concealed; about fifty persons were indicted for being witches, and were burnt to death near the fort Onondaga by order of the national committee. About this time a strange thing happened near the village of Kaunehsuntahkeh, situated east of Oneida creek: a man and his wife and another person returned from hunting, but before they reached the village the night was getting late; they went into a house to stay over the night; the house where the dead bodies were deposited; they kindled a fire and went to sleep, but when the fire was out, the room became dark, the man heard something was gnawing: the man kindled the fire, he discovered the person was dead eaten by a ghost; he was so frightened that he trembled; he immediately told his wife to quit the room as soon as possible; he remained a few moments and also left the house and followed his wife and overtook her, but she became faint and could not run fast; they saw a light coming and supposed the ghost was chasing; fortunately they gained the village. The next day the people went and burnt the dead bodies. This important event was soon made known among the five nations, and afterward changed their mode of burying, by setting posture face to the east; but again they were troubled with the dead bodies, and were compelled to make some alterations in burying.

In each Nation contain set of generations or tribes, viz: *Otter*, *Bear*, *Wolf*, *Beaver*, *Turtle*. Each tribe has two chiefs to settle the disputes, etc. If a man commits murder, the nearest relation of the slain despatches the murderer with a war-club: the slain and the murderer are put into one grave. Sometimes their relation of the offender present a belt of white wampum, to make the atonement. The adulterous women are punished by shaving their heads, and banished from the town. The thieves are punished by whipping severely. To recover debts, they generally apply to the chiefs; the payments are made up by the relatives of the debtor. They have a certain time of worship; the false faces first commence the dances; they visit the houses to

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drive away sickness, etc. Each town or district are allowed to sacrifice a couple of white dogs; the dogs are painted and ornamented with strings of wampum; they throw the dogs into the fire, and some tobacco, and addresses the Maker. They pretend to furnish him a coat of skin, and a pipe full of tobacco; after which, have dances for several days. The private feats are guided by the dreams. The sixth family, Esaurora, or Tuscaroras, was visited by a person, and went to see their amusements, but he was abused by some of the ball-players. He punished the offender by throwing him into a tree; he suddenly disappeared, but the person came again and released the fellow from the tree. The visitor appeared very old man; he appeared among the people for a while; he taught them many things; how to respect their deceased friends, and to love their relations, etc., he informed the people that the whites beyond the great water had killed their Maker, but he rose again; and he warns them that the whites would in some future day take possession of the Big Island, and it was impossible to prevent it; the red children would melt away like snow before the heat. The aged became sick, and he told them to get different kinds of roots, to cure the diseases; and also showed them the manner of mourning, etc. The aged man died among them, and they buried him; but soon after some person went to the grave and found he had risen, and never heard of him since.

In the reign the King Atotarho IX, perhaps 350 years before the Columbus discovered the America. About this time the Kanneastokaroneah or Erians sprung from the Senecas, and became numerous and powerful nation, occupying the country lying between the Genesee and Niagara Rivers. It was supposed that the national sovereignty was confirmed by the Senate of the Five Nations. A Queen, named Yagowanea, resided at the fort Kauhanauka, (said Tuscarora.) She had an influence among the people, and extended her authority over twelve forts of the country. A treaty of peace was concluded between her

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and the Twakanhah, (Messissaugers.) After a time dissentions broke out between the Five Nations and the Messissaugers, and soon commenced hostilities; but the war was regulated under her control. The Queen lived outside the fort in a long house, which was called a Peace House. She entertained the two parties who were at war with each other; indeed she was called the mother of the Nations. Each nation sent her a belt of wampum as a mark of respect, but where the Five Nations were engaged in the warfare she admitted two Canandaigua warriors into her house; and just as they began to smoke the pipe of peace a small party of the Messissaugers too came into the house. She betrayed her visitors—she advised the Messissaugers to kill the warriors, which was soon executed; the Messissaugers soon retired. The Queen was informed that the two warriors of Canandaigua had been over the river and killed a young prince of the Messissaugers: this offense was too great to pass without condemning the murderers; the reason she gave them up. She immediately went and consulted the chieftain of the band, stationed at Kanhaitauneekay, east of Onondaga village, Buffalo reservation, and from thence repaired to fort Kauquatkay, situated on the lake Erie, the residence of the Kaunaquavouhar, a chief commander of the Erian forces. She dispatched two runners to assemble the people at Kauquatkay; the Queen too sends an ambassy to form an alliance with the Naywaunaukauraunah, a savage tribe, encamped on the lake Erie, to unite against the Five Nations. During the absence of the Queen from the fort Kauhanauka, a woman went privately and took a canoe and proceeded on the lake Ontario, towards Canandaigua, as fast as possible; she left the canoe at some place and went through the woods, and came late in the evening at Canandaigua, a fortified town, and immediately informed the Governor, Shorihowane, that the Erians were making preparations to destroy the people living on the east side of Genesee river. The woman gave direction how to send the spies; the governor rose in the morn-

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ing and sent out two fast runners to the fort Kauhanauka, to ascertain the matter; the two spies came to an old cornfield south of the fort, where they met some boys hunting squirrels; the spies made inquiries and received all necessary information respecting the Erian's Council at Kauquatkay, and went home as fast as possible. The Governor Sorihowane, obtained the news. The business was so in haste that it was impossible to procure any aid from the allies. He collected the warriors from the neighboring forts, amounting to fifteen hundred besides the women and the old men. The governor separated the people into three divisions; first the men, between thirty and fifty years of age; second division, the men were from twenty to thirty years of age; third division, were women and old men. The Governor had commanded the leaders to be in good courage and use all the means in their power to defeat the enemy. After parading the divisions they marched towards the Genesee River; the army halted at the fort Kawnesats, situated on a small lake east of Genesee. The governor had sent runners to observe the motions of the enemy. The women and old men were to remain at fort to cook and provide provisions for the people. The runners came in and announced that the Erians had crossed the Genesee river; the divisions immediately proceeded and laid an ambush on both side the path; the first division was in front to commence the action at the advance of the enemy. With a stratagem a certain warrior was dressed with a bear skin, and was seated on the path a little distance from the front of the division, meanwhile the enemy came up and saw the bear sitting at ease; the enemy chase it, which brought them in the midst of the division; at once burst a most hideous yell, followed with a rattling of war clubs. After a severe contest the first division was compelled to retreat, but the assistance of the second company came up, and the battle was renewed. At last the Erians fled from the field, leaving six hundred warriors slain. The enemy hurried to cross the Genesee river; the Governor declined to chase

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the enemy, but returned to Canandaigua. About this time the King of the Five Nations had ordered the great war chief Shoribowane, (a Mohawk,) to march directly with an army of five thousand warriors to aid the Governor of Canandaigua against the Erians, to attack the fort Kauquatkay, endeavor to extinguish the council fire of the enemy, which was becoming dangerous to the neighboring nations; but unfortunately during the siege a shower of arrows was flying from the fort, the great war Chief Shorihowane was killed and his body conveyed back to Genesee and was buried in a solemn manner; but however, the siege continued for several days. The Queen sued for peace—the army immediately ceased from hostilities, and left the Erians entire possession of the country. The Skunantoh or Deer was the most useful game of the Five Nations; the animal can run considerable distance in a day. The people have a small dog in aid to overtake, but very seldom stop when pursued by the dogs.

These creatures generally go in the river or lake; in this situation the dogs are compelled to leave the deer. The wolves are also prevented from catching these animals; the hunters have never seen a deer lying dead, except in some instances; if a person find one it was considered a bad sign; that person some of his relatives will die in the course of a few moons. When the deer get old they throw themselves into the river and die. Another way has been discovered: if a deer runs off and barks at the hunter, it was a bad sign; his wife had committed adultery, in consequence he cannot kill any deer. When a person intends to hunt deer he procures a medicine, and vomits once daily for twelve days, after which he procures some pine or cedar boughs and boils them in a clay kettle, and after removed from the fire, he takes a blanket and covers himself over with it to sweat; the person that uses the medicine does not allow a woman with child or uncleanness to eat any of the venison. The people sometimes go out to hunt as the corn begins to grow on the ears; they make a long brush fence and remove the leaves on both

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sides of the fence, the deer will follow the path; the person can easily kill the game. In the hot days of the summer, they go and watch in the night at the salt licks. Another mode of killing the deer; they take slivers of basswood bark and proceed to the place and obtain a canoe and go into the river or lake in the night, provided with a light of slivers. The deer, elk and buffalo, were found in the territory of the Five Nations. The moose inhabit the spruce country and the heads of the Mohawk river; this country was never inhabited by any kind of people in the winter season; the snow fell so deep it was supposed that country would always remain a wilderness.

About this time the Oneidas killed a very poisonous blue otter; the meat was very carefully preserved; some are used to hunt, and others to poison the arrows when go out to war; some of the witches obtained the meat to poison the people. In the river and lakes are found various kinds of fishes. The people had particular time of the moon to make sugar, plant corn, and hunt deer and other animals. The seasons of the year they are directed by the seven stars of the heavens: when warriors travel in a great forest they are guided by a northern star; if the sun or moon is eclipsed they believe that the Bad Spirit darkens it; the people are assembled, and make a loud noise to scare the Bad Spirit from the orb. They believe that the clouds in the moon were earth and inhabited by people. The six family made resident near the mouth of Neuse river in North Carolina, and became three tribes, the Kautanohakau, Kauwetseka, and Tuscarora, and united into a league and were at war with the Nanticokes, and totally on the sea shores. About this time the Long House became numerous and powerful; each nation could muster as follows:—the Mowhawks, 5,000 warriors; Oneidas, 3,500 warriors; Senecas, 6,000 warriors; Onondagas 4,000 warriors; Cayugas, 4,500 warriors; total amount, 23,000 warriors. The Mowhawk was considered an oldest brother, and was appointed to keep a watch towards the sunrise, the Senecas were appointed to

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keep a watch towards the sunsetting. The Senators met annually, at the fort Onondaga, to promote their national prosperity.

The Long House were free and independent nations, and have been acknowledged in such treaties made with them by the neighboring nations. Every independent nation have a government of their own; they have a national committee meet occasionally; they have a chief ruler, named **Aukoyaner*, a peacemaker, who is invested with authority to administer the government. Each nation have a right to punish individuals of their own nation for offences, committed within their jurisdiction; each nation are bound to oppose any hostile invasions of the enemy.

In the reign Atotarho X, perhaps about 250 years before Columbus discovered America. The Oyalquarkeror, Big Bear, continue invade the country at Onondaga; a party went and encamped a day's journey distance from the village; they hunted and killed a few deer. One morning a woman left the camp and was going home to pound corn and to supply the men with provisions: but before she reached half way she was attacked by the monstrous Bear, and was soon devoured, as she did not return. The men were anxiously waiting, and were suspicious about her; a man was sent to see if she was coming; he advanced where she was assaulted, and discovered the place of her remains; he soon perceived their fate; he immediately reported and the men immediately proceeded to the place; and while examining her remains the bear made a vigorous attack; the men met a severe engagement, but in the meantime the monster was killed; they procured some of the meat for useful purposes.

Atotarho XI, perhaps about 150 years before Columbus discovered America. About this time the Tuscaroras sends messengers and renewed their intercourse with the five nations. The Tuscaroras were yet numerous and had twenty-four large towns,

* *Aukoyaner*, i. e. Lord. No one can hold this office except a Turtle tribe, he governs the nation, but not allowed to go out to war, his duty is to stay home and preserve peace among his people.

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and probably could muster six thousand warriors. They possessed the country lying between the sea shores and the mountains, which divide the Atlantic states; but afterwards a contest arose and the southern nations, the Oyatoh, Kwntariroraunuh, Caweda. The war lasted for many years; unfortunately it became so distressed that the Tuscaroras' frontier settlements were reduced considerably, but the Tuscaroras send expresses and received assistance from their brethren, the Five Nations, and war was carried on for some time; at last the enemy was compelled to suspend their hostility.

The Bear tribes nominate the Chief Warrior of the nation. The laws of the confederation provides the Onondagas to furnish a King, and the Mowhawks a great war chief of the Five Nations.

About this time an earthquake was felt throughout the kingdom, supposed a large comet fell into some of the lakes; and other signs were seen in the heavens. The defender ceased from visiting the people in bodily form, but appeared to the prophet. In a dream he foretells the whites would cross the Big Waters and bring some liquors, and buy up the red people's lands; he advises them not to comply with the wishes of the whites, lest they should ruin themselves and displease their Maker; they would destroy the tree of peace and extinguish the Great Council Fire at Onondaga, which was so long preserved to promote their national sovereignty.

In the reign Atotarho XII, perhaps about 50 years before Columbus discovered America, the Tehatirihokea, or Mowhawks was at war with Ranatshaganha, supposed Mohegans, who occupied the opposite bank of the river Skaunataty or Hudson. The warfare was maintained by small expeditions; the Mowhawks would cross the river and attack the enemy; the canoes were kept in the river continually to cover their retreat; but after a while the Mohegans expatiated the war: the chief of the Mowhawks received orders from the King, and invited the two confederate nations, the Oneidas and the Onondagas, to unite against

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the common enemy; the band of the combined forces immediately crossed the river and revenged a part of the country, and the enemy were compelled to sue for peace.

In the reign Atotarho XIII, in the year 1492, Columbus discovered the America. The Keatahkiehroneah were fighting with the neighboring tribes and were injurious to the frontier settlements. The five nations sends Thoyenogea with an army of five thousand warriors and defeated the Keatahkiehroneah and drove them west of the Ohio River; and they lay waste the enemies' country, and attacked other tribes, etc. About this time the Erians declared a war against the Five Nations; a long bloody war ensued; at last the Erians were driven from the country, and supposed were incorporated with some of the southern nations: after which the kingdom enjoyed without disturbance for many years.

The Mowhawk was considered the oldest language of the confederacy.

Mowhawk.	*Tuscarora.*
1. Wus-kot,	1. Vntchee,
2. Tack-ny,	2. Nake-tee,
3. Au-suh,	3. Au-sh,
4. Kau-valy,	4. Hun-tock,
5. Wisk,	5. Whisk,
6. Yua-yak,	6. O-yak,
7. Gia-tock,	7. Gia-nock,
8. Sot-tai-gon,	8. Nake-ruh,
9. Tew-do,	9. Ni-ruh,
10. Oya-ly.	10. Wots-huh.

END

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NOTES

—ON—

David Cusick's Sketches

—OF—

ANCIENT HISTORY

—OF THE—

SIX NATIONS,

—BY—

W. M. Beauchamp, S. T. D.,

BALDWINSVILLE, N. Y.

Fellow of American Association for the Advancement of Science, etc.

1892.

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NOTES ON

Cusick's History

I have thought it advisable to add copious notes, beginning with Cusick himself:

DAVID CUSICK, who wrote the "Sketches of Ancient History of the Six Nations," was the son of Nicholas Cusick, a Tuscarora, who died on the reservation near Lewiston, N. Y., in 1840, being about 82 years old. David died not long after his father. He had a fair education, and was thought a good doctor by both whites and Indians. The family at first lived in Madison county, where the Tuscaroras had villages among the Oneidas, and Nicholas was a subscribing witness to a deed of land from the Oneidas to the State of New York, March 3d, 1810.

Three editions of Cusick's History have appeared. The author's was the first, the preface being dated at Tuscarora Village, June 10, 1825, and the copyright added a little later, January 3, 1826. This was printed at Lewiston, without illustrations. The second edition had four wood cuts, and was published at the same place in 1828. The third was published at Lockport, N. Y., in 1848, and from this the present is literally printed, corrections being reserved for the notes. This also had pictures by the historian. The first and best known of these is "Atotarho, a famous War Chief, resided at Onondaga." He sits on a stool,

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smoking, and the two deputies approach him. The second is "A War Dance," where four Indians dance, the Indian drum being played by another. The third is of two "Stonish Giants," pursuing three retreating Indians. The fourth is "The Flying Head put to flight by a Woman parching Acorns." All these are in the edition of 1841. Atotarho and the Flying Head are given in the Second Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, with two others. One is "Returning Thanks to the Great Spirit," in which four Indians dance by two fires, while another beats the drum; a False Face and two women complete the group. The other is a "Stone Giant or Cannibal." Four Indians run away from him, and some are slung upon his back.

David Cusick had a brother James, who became a Baptist minister in 1838, and was a man of note. He has been confused with David by some. He published a collection of Indian hymns, and died in Canada.

Albert Cusick, grandson of James, was born at Tuscarora, December 25, 1846, his mother being an Onondaga, of the Eel tribe. Belonging to that clan and nation, he went to Onondaga in 1858, becoming a war chief in 1860, and a principal chief two years later. In 1864 he was made Tatotaho, or head chief of the Six Nations, holding this office until he became a Christian, ten years later. He has aided me and others much, and for many years was lay reader and interpreter for the Onondaga Episcopal Mission, besides being active in temperance work. In the Church of the Good Shepherd, Onondaga Castle, he was made a deacon by Bishop Huntington, October 1, 1891. Much interesting and valuable matter in this volume is credited to him.

Page 1. The tale of the creation is quite old, and is substantially that of the Hurons. Among them the woman's name was Atahentsic, and the turtle and beaver helped her. Her sons are Tawiskaron and Jouskeka, the latter slaying his brother. Some regard the survivor as the sun, and Tharonhiawagon, or Areskoui, the Great Spirit, as his child. The God of war was called Ares-

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koui, by the Hurons, and Agreskoue by the Mohawks. Father Jogues, however, gives the former name to him among the Mohawks, and says that human sacrifices were offered to him in his presence. I see no reason for identifying him with the Holder of the Heavens. Charlevoix notes it as curious that the Greek word *Ares*, meaning the god of war, should be identical with the root of Iroquois warlike terms. In an Onondaga story Tharonhiawagon becomes Hiawatha, and dwells on earth for a time. This story, however, seems recent.

Van der Donck relates that the woman who descended from heaven, rested on a bar gradually rising above the waters. She brought forth a deer, bear and wolf, and brought them to maturity. Cohabiting with these, she bore other creatures until the earth was filled, when she returned to heaven. As men were thus descended from animals, they partially have their characters.

Canassatego's story has some relation to that of Hiawatha, and is interesting as preceding 1750. I quote it from Charles Miner's History of Wyoming. This Onondaga chief was a warm friend of the Moravians, and this may have colored his story.

"When our good Manitta raised Akanishionegy out of the great waters, he said to his brethren, 'How fine a country is this! I will make red men, the best of men, to enjoy it.' Then with five handfuls of red seed, like the eggs of flies, did he strow the fertile fields of Onondaga. Little worms came out of the seeds, and penetrated the earth, when the spirits who had never yet seen the light, entered into and united with them. Manitta watered the earth with his rain, the sun warmed it, the worms with the spirits in them grew, putting forth little arms and legs, and moved the light earth to cover them. After nine moons they came forth perfect boys and girls. Manitta covered them with his mantle of warm, purple cloud, and nourished them with milk from his fingers' ends. Nine summers did he nurse them, and nine summers did he instruct them how to live. In the meantime he had made for their use, trees, plants, and animals of

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various kinds. Akanishionegy was covered with woods, and filled with creatures. Then he assembled his children together, and said, 'Ye are Five Nations, for you sprang each from a different handful of the seed I sowed, but ye are all brethren, and I am your father, for I made you all. I have nursed and brought you up. Mohawks, I have made you bold and valiant; and see, I give you corn for food. Oneidas, I have made you patient of pain and of hunger; the nuts and fruits of the trees are yours. Senecas, I have made you industrious and active; beans do I give you for nourishment. Cayugas, I have made you strong, friendly and generous; ground nuts and every root shall refresh you. Onondagas, I have made you wise, just and eloquent, squashes and grapes I have given you, and tobacco to smoke in council. The beasts, birds, and fishes have I given to you all in common. As I have loved you and taken care of you all, so do ye love and take care of one another. Communicate freely to each other the good things I have given you, and learn to imitate each other's virtues. I have made you the best people in the world, and I give you the best country. You will defend it from the invasions of other nations, from the children of other Manittas, and keep possession of it for yourselves, while the sun and moon give light, and the waters run in the rivers. This you shall do if you observe my words. Spirits, I am about to leave you. The bodies I have given you will in time grow old, and wear out, so that you will be weary of them; or from various accidents they will become unfit for your habitations, and you will leave them. I cannot always remain here to give you new ones. I have great affairs to mind in distant places, and I cannot attend so long to the nursing of children. I have enabled you, therefore, among yourselves to produce new bodies, to supply the places of the old ones, that every one of you, when he parts with his old habitation, may in due time find a new one, and never wander longer than he chooses under the earth, deprived of the light of the sun. Nourish and instruct your chil-

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dren, as I have nourished and instructed you. Be just to all men, and kind to strangers that come among you. So shall you be happy and loved by all, and I myself will sometimes visit and assist you.' Saying this, he wrapped himself in a bright cloud, and went like a swift arrow to the sun, where his brethren rejoiced at his return. From the heavens he often looked down at Akanishionegy, and pointing, showed with pleasure to his brethren the country he had formed, and the nations he had produced to inhabit it."

Page 3. Among the Onondagas now the name for the Iroquois, simply as a race, is Oon-qua-hone-we, "Real Men." Indians were made by the Great Spirit, Sone-yah-tis-sa-ye, "the One that made us," and of red clay, and that is why Indians are red. The white man was formed afterwards, of ocean foam, and is white. Ta-ren-ya-wa gon in Mohawk, Ta-en-yah-wah-ke in Onondaga, the Holder of the Heavens, is a name used in religious ceremonies only when the white dog is burned. At other feasts the term Sone-yah-tis-sa-ye takes its place, and is often used by Christian Indians. Ha-wen-ne-yu, or God, (One that rules in all things,) is commonly used by the latter, and originated with the French missionaries. Manitou is not an Iroquois word.

The subject of religious belief will not be considered largely now, but much of it was vague at an early day. The lesser divinities seemed of most importance, and received most attention. Kirkland relates that a Tuscarora chief warned his children against Christianity. He was old, and his dead friends came to see him. Among these his brother told him his time was not yet come. Our religion, said he, has four little gods. In the east was Tyogetoet, *rising up*, or *making its appearance;* in the west was Yucataghphki, *twilight;* in the north, Jothoel, *a little cold;* in the south, Unte.

Charlevoix gives the usual legend of the creation, with some other names and another. Tarenyawagon kicks his wife out of

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the sky, and she falls on the tortoise. She crawls to the foot of a tree, where she bears twins, and Tawiskaron kills his brother.

Page 4. Some curious prehistoric American figures of apes, in stone, have been illustrated by Mr. James Terry, but Cusick's idea is probably modern.

Page 5, in Part II. It seems probable that the Iroquois developed in Canada, as a family, and may have been affected by Eskimo contact, at least. Articles of the Eskimo type are found along Lake Champlain and south of Lake Ontario, but apparently earlier than the Iroquois period. The densest Huron-Iroquois population certainly had Niagara river as a centre, but whether the family spread out from this, or reached it from the east or west, is yet a problem. My own opinion, founded on extended data, is that the family came from the west, separating at first at the west end of Lake Erie, part entering Canada, and part Ohio. At the east of the lake, or the Niagara river, there was again a meeting and separation. The two streams still proceeded eastward, with an overflow to the south. The Hurons, Neutrals, and Eries remained in their historic seats, the Senecas and Cayugas went further on. At the same time the advancing stream left the Onondagas in Jefferson county, N. Y., while the Mohawks occupied the lower St. Lawrence. When the Canadian war commenced the Mohawks and Onondagas were forced further south, into New York, and soon came in contact with the Cayugas and Senecas. Leaving out minor matters, this is the broad story which archæology and tradition tell. As they were tillers of the soil, geological conditions affected their movements much.

Page 5. Kanawage or Kanawaga, the River St. Lawrence, is the "Rapid River." There were Iroquois settlements near it, some described in 1535, and some known only by remains.

Page 5. Some have found a tradition of early European or Phœnician voyages, in the story of the foreign people wrecked on the southern part of the Great Island.

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Page 5. Ronnongwetowane means "Big People," in Onondaga.

Page 6. The giant, the princess and her brother go through incidents resembling European tales. Donhtonha's name suggests the Canadian chief, Donaconna, in Cartier's early voyage to the St. Lawrence. Phosphorescent wood is well known. In their early long houses, the Huron-Iroquois had two tiers of berths or seats, framed into the walls, and leaving a wide alley through the centre. The change of the giant and his wife into stars is hardly "a real account."

Page 8. The young man attending the old chief, and called Yatatonwatea, may be Ya-tah-ta-wah-te, "*My Nephew.*"

Page 9. Shot-yer-rous-kwe means "*Mischievous Man.*" There are many mistakes in proper names, but they are left in the text, using Onondaga words in correction.

Page 10. The Big Quisquis is the "*Big Hog*," but as swine came with the whites, Cusick here suggests the Mammoth. Some have thought that famous chiefs may have been meant by this and the Big Elk.

It is tolerably certain that the mastodon, often called the mammoth, was contemporaneous with man in America, its remains having been found in several places associated with human traces. The elephant pipes and mounds are doubtful proofs, the latter representing some other animal. Traditions of this creature are of little authority, yet of some interest, for which reason I give the one related in Jefferson's "Notes on Virginia."

"A delegation of warriors from the Delaware tribe having visited the governor of Virginia during the revolution, on matters of business, the governor asked them some questions relative to their country, and among others, what they knew or had heard of the animal whose bones were found at the Salt-licks, on the Ohio. Their chief speaker immediately put himself into an attitude of oratory, and with a pomp suited to what he conceived the elevation of his subject, informed him, that it was a radition

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handed down from their fathers, that in ancient times a herd of these tremendous animals came to the Big-bone licks, and began an universal destruction of the bear, deer, elk, buffalo, and other animals which had been created for the use of the Indians. That the Great Man above, looking down and seeing this, was so enraged that he seized his lightning, descended on the earth, seated himself on a neighboring mountain on a rock, of which his seat and the prints of his feet are still to be seen, and hurled his bolt among them, till the whole were slaughtered except the big bull, who, presenting his forehead to the shafts, shook them off as they fell, but missing one at length, it wounded him in the side, whereupon, springing round, he bounded over the Ohio, over the Wabash, the Illinois, and finally over the great lakes, where he is living at this day." Both mammoth and mastodon were herbivorous, but Cusick may have heard this story.

An allusion to the large animals appears in "The Warrior saved by Pigmies," in Mrs. E. A. Smith's collection. A sick warrior, left by a salt lick beyond the Allegany, saw three pigmies come and lie in ambush for the great animals which came out of the ground. They killed two buffalo cows which came up. They fed him, and he told the story on his return home. "From a strong desire to see the 'lick,' a large party searched for it, and found it surrounded with bones of various large animals killed by the pigmies."

Page 10. The northern confederacy may have been the Huron in Canada, or one between the Onondagas and Mohawks in their early seats. There are two other groups on the St. Lawrence which may be included. In 1755, Pouchot mentioned Te-can-an-ou-ar-on-e-si, the south branch of Sandy Creek, as the place where the Iroquois came out of the ground. The vicinity abounds with early earthworks. The old Mohawk tradition is that they removed from Montreal late in the sixteenth century. Patient examination of the Mohawk valley shows that they did not enter it until that time. The N. Y. Indians used several

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roots for bread and cooking. Among these were ground nuts, Indian turnips, and the man-of-the-earth, or wild potato. The Potato clan of the Senecas had the ground nut for its totem.

There is a prevalent idea that the Indians cultivated and owned their lands in common. Without giving the full testimony on the other side, it may be sufficient to quote from three early witnesses. Capt. John Smith said of the early Virginia Indians, "Each household knoweth their own lands and gardens, and most live on their own labours." Roger Williams said, "The natives are very exact and punctuall in the bounds of the lands belonging to this or that prince or people, (even to a river, brook,) etc. And I have known them make bargaine and sale, among themselves, for a small piece or quantity of ground." Sir William Johnson was even more explicit about the N. Y. Indians. He said "That it is a difficult matter to discover the true owner of any lands amongst Indians, is a gross error, which must arise from the total ignorance of the matter, or from a cause which does not require explanation. Each nation is perfectly well acquainted with their exact original bounds, the same is again divided into due proportions for each tribe, and afterwards subdivided into shares to each family, with all which they are most particularly acquainted; neither do they ever infringe upon one another, or invade their neighbor's hunting grounds." This he wrote in 1764.

Page 10. Some have thought the Emperor of the Golden City a Mexican monarch, and that the Mound Builders of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys were his subjects. Heckewelder describes a war of the Iroquois and Delawares, or Lenni-Lenape, against the Alligewi, (Alleghany,) usually considered the Mound Builders.

Page 11. The blazing star falling into a fort, may be a reminiscence of a bomb-shell. The Iroquois conquered the Hurons in Canada in 1649, and made their land a wilderness, completing the work by the destruction of the Tobacco and Neutral nations.

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Old maps are pathetic with their notes of "nations destroyed."

Page 11. The Thunders are especially reverenced for destroying the serpents, and curious legends of this are yet told. Mrs. E. A. Smith gives some, and I add one told me at Onondaga, which Albert Cusick once heard.

Indian story tellers receive a present of tobacco, and this preceded the tale of the Thunders and Lake Serpent. It is one of many, but has been received by me alone.

In an Indian village lived two squaws, not far apart, who were very good friends. Each had a child, born about the same time, and these played together, and shot with their little bows and arrows. As they grew bigger they wanted stronger bows, which their uncles made. They became skillful with these, and then wanted some still stronger, that they might hunt larger game, for they were now young men. The women admired one, and some would have married him, but he wanted no wife. His friend told him he had better marry, or something bad might happen. He said he would do so soon, but first they would have a hunt together, on their favorite ground.

Their mothers roasted corn and pounded it into meal, which would keep a long time, and was light to carry. The young men filled their sacks with this, and then went to their hunting grounds. They walked all day, and camped in the woods. They walked the next day, and camped on the hunting grounds, where they built a lodge. They hunted every day, and one brought home a great deal of game. The other found none, and said but little. This happened several times, and the one who had been so favored and happy, was gloomy all the time. Every morning they went in opposite directions, but one day the lucky hunter thought he would follow his friend, and see what he did. He went a little way as before, and then turned back after him. He was running very fast through the woods, and he followed until they came to a small lake. The first one plunged in and swam to the other side, while his friend ran around. The swimmer

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reached the shore first, and they ran to a second and larger lake, where they did the same, but the one on land was ahead. The other then turned back, and his friend ran past both lakes, so that he was hid in the bushes when the swimmer came ashore. He caught him at once, and asked what was the matter. At first he could say nothing, but after awhile he came to himself, and said he was to be married. When his friend wanted him he must come to the lake, and bring fresh Indian tobacco with some clean clay pipes, and lay these on bark just peeled from the tree. Then he must say to the lake, "I want to see my friend." So he went off another way and married the big serpent in the lake.

The hunter went back to his cabin, and was very sorry for his friend. He built a fire and sat sadly beside it. Then he heard some one coming. He turned around, and a young man stood in the door, dressed in white, and with white feathers on his head. He said, "You seem in trouble, but you are the only one that can help us, so my chief has sent me to invite you to our council." Then he gave him wampum to show that this was a true message from a chief. The hunter said, "Where is the council?" The messenger replied, "Why, you came right by our lodge. Follow me and you will find it."

So he went with him, not very far, till he came to a place where smoke was rising from the ground. There he saw a wigwam, which they entered. Eight chiefs were sitting on the ground, with white feathers on their heads, the principal chief having the largest plumes of all, The hunter sat down and smoked with them. When the pipe came round to the principal chief, he rose and spoke to the young man: "You have come to help us, and we have waited for you a long time." He said, "How can I help you?" The chief answered, "Your friend has married the big serpent, whom we must kill. He has told you how to call him; so we will furnish the tobacco and pipes." The chiefs then gave him clean pipes and fresh tobacco, which the hunter took and went to the lake. The chief said, "When

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your friend comes, you must ask for his wife also
to know if the skies are clear. When she come
her and your friend a little way from the shore.
come in the form of a cloud; on the lake, not in

So he took the clean pipes, the tobacco and
went to the water and called for his friend, sayin
away, and wished to see him. Out in the lake
to boil, and coming out of it he saw his friend.
on his forehead, and looked like a serpent, and
When he came ashore the hunter talked with
what he should tell his mother when he got hom

Then he wanted to see his wife, for his mothe
she was like. He said that she might not wish
would try. So he went to the shore and lay d
lips to the water and beginning to drink. Ther
him going down through the water like a snake.
boiled again, and he returned, saying his wife w
she did not. Then he went back, drinking a
down like a serpent. The lake boiled once m
spot alone, but all over, like a high sea moved b
there was no wind, though the waves rolled up
Out of the water came his friend's wife, beautifu
shining as though with silver scales. Her long ha
her, and seemed like silver and gold. When she
three sat down on a log, and talked of many thi

The young hunter watched the lake until he saw
ing on the waters, a great way off, which seemed lik
he asked them to go a little farther from the sh
the shade. They did so, and as they were tal
must step aside for a moment. Then he ran off a
told him. In a moment it grew dark, and ther
thunder and lightning, and rain everywhere.

All was still at last, and it grew light again
went back again, and found a large and small ser

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The eight chiefs were there, too, having a great dance, and rejoicing over their enemy. Then they cut up both serpents, and made several bundles of equal size. Each took one, and put it on his back. They thanked the hunter, and told him he should be always lucky. "Ask us for what you want, at any time, and you shall have it." Then they went through the woods in Indian file, and he saw them rising higher and higher, till they went up to the sky. Then there was a great thunder storm.

The hunter returned to his lodge, and took part of his meat, carrying it a half day's journey. Then he went back for more, and did this with the rest, until he reached home, and told the story to the mother of his friend. She was very sorry, but adopted him, and so the young man had two mothers.

For their many good offices the Thunders were held in high esteem.

Page 11. The Onondagas called Oswego Falls Kah-skung-sa-ka, *Many Falls following.* Earlier it was called Gaskonchiague, or Gaskonchiagon, a name also given to Genesee Falls. There is no mountain there, and scarcely a hill. A small earthwork marks the spot. The Oswego river was little frequented by Indians so low down.

Page 11. Tarenyagon assumed various shapes, and is prominent in Indian tales, even taking the part of Hiawatha. In two places in Onondaga county, one rocky and the other sandy, his footsteps were to be seen.

Page 11. The return and settlement of the Five Nations seem derived from the order of the chiefs in the condolence. There is no reason to suppose they ever reached the sea in a body, and they seem to have come from different parts. The Mohawks entered New York from Montreal and the lower St. Lawrence, and but one of their towns is known near the Mohawk river, not clearly showing contact with the whites. Even that one is doubtful. In the condolence the nations are reckoned from the east, and this became historical. For archæological facts in this mat-

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ter, and personal guidance, I am indebted to A. G. I
Canajoharie, and S. L. Frey, of Palatine Bridge, wh
fully worked this field. My own personal examina
and relics leaves no doubt in my own mind.

The story of the expulsion of the Mohawks from
peared in De la Potherie's Histoire de l'Amerique,
Governor Burnett quoted from this, but Charlevoix
story still earlier, as one well known. He did not t
between the Iroquois and the Hurons and Algonc
long standing when Champlain came. The latter
numerous in Canada, and foremost in war and hu
Iroquois made a treaty with them, giving part of th
and receiving game. All were satisfied. At last six
and six Iroquois went on a hunt, and the Iroquois
their skill. The others refused, saying they would
for all, but in three days took nothing. Then the I
out secretly, and came back loaded. The proud
killed them all while they slept, and when the mu
covered justice was refused. The Iroquois vowed
bound themselves to perish to a man, or have veng
yet equal to their foes, they went to a distance and
other nations. Then they turned and waged a r
against their first enemies. Governor Colden says
first against the Satanas or Shawnees.

The Five Nations were variously related to other
the Senecas desired to exterminate the Andastes o
nas, but "the Susquehannas being reputed by the I
their offspring," this nation desired to bring them ba
nations west of the Mohawks were then termed
those mentioned as Senecas, warring against the S
were mainly Onondagas and Cayugas.

Page 11. Shawnaytawty, or Skaunataty, (variou
is the same as Schenectady, and was the old Mohaw
Albany. In 1661, at the time it was sold to the D

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ectady was called Schonowe, the *Great Flat.* The three Mohawk castles lay far west of this, in Montgomery county. When first visited by the Dutch, there was a castle for each clan, the Bear, Wolf, and Turtle. Two villages only were in existence about A. D. 1600, as the Wolf clan sprang out of the Bear according to an early writer, probably having lived with them. One of the two villages is on the south side of the river; the other is in Ephrata, in Fulton county. Albert Cusick thought Te-haw-re-ho-geh better rendered as a *Heart divided into two Hearts.* It is Te-haw-e-ho-ge, in the Onondaga tongue. It may allude to this division and sub-division.

Page 12. Kaw-na-taw-te-ruh, or *Pineries,* is the same as Canastota. Morgan calls this Kan-e-to-ta, *Pine Tree standing alone.* The Onondagas, however, termed it Can-os-ta, the *Frame of a house,* from the first frame building there, which they greatly admired.

Page 12. Ne-haw-re tah-go-wah is *Big Tree People.* L. H. Morgan said they had this name from attending a treaty at Boston. This was in 1723. At another treaty with Massachusetts in 1794, Rode, a Mohawk chief, led the envoys of the Five Nations, and they entered Albany, two in a rank and singing.

At this time the Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts promised them a hundred pounds for every scalp or captive. In the Hiawatha story, however, the travelers found some Oneidas sitting under a tree, which they had partially burned off. So he said, "These shall be called Ne-ah-te-en-tah-go-nah, or *Big Tree.*" In another place a party was lying on and playing around a great stone, and he called them O-ne-o-ta-aug, or *People of the Stone.*

Mr. Horatio Hale gives the tree story a little differently, though he thinks it modern. Hiawatha and his companion "crossed the Oneida creek on a bridge composed of an immense tree which had fallen or been laid across it, and noted that the

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council fire, at which the treaty was concluded, was kindled against another huge log."

The stone, however, is the prominent emblem of the Oneidas, and there have been several Oneida Stones. One from Stockbridge has been placed near the entrance of a cemetery in Utica. I think the oldest stationary stone of this kind is at an early site at Nichol's Pond, in Madison county, thought to be the fort attacked by Champlain in 1615. This is a limestone bowlder, about twelve feet long, in the midst of the village. The town belongs to the Oneida system, rather than the Onondaga.

In an account of a visit to the Oneidas in 1796, in Vol. 5 of the Mass. Hist. Society Collections, an interview with a pagan Oneida chief is described. "He regarded the Oneida Stone as a proper emblem or representative of the divinity whom he worshipped. This stone we saw. It is of a rude, unwrought shape, rather inclining to cylindrical, and of more than a hundred pounds weight. It bears no resemblance to any of the stones which are found in that country. From whence it was originally brought, no one can tell. The tradition is that it *follows* the nation in their removals. From it the nation is derived, for Oneida signifies the *upright stone*. When it was set up in the crotch of a tree, the people were supposed *invincible*. It is now placed in an upright position on the earth, at the door of the man's house. A stout man can carry this stone about forty or fifty rods without resting; and this is the manner in which it may be said (with the help of a little priestcraft) to *follow* them on their removals." Some of the remaining Oneidas say that this stone was carried west by those who went to Wisconsin.

Page 12. The council name of the Onondagas, in their language, is more exactly Seuh-no-keh-te, *Bearing the Names*. In Conrad Weiser's journal, where the name is sometimes applied to the town, they are called Sa-go-sa-an-a-gech-they, which means bearing names on their shoulders, but as though quite exhausted, or almost dead. A different application of this name will be

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found in the Relation of 1655-6, when Father Chaumonot attended a council at Onondaga, November 7, 1655. "It was told the French in this assembly, first, that Agochiendaguete, who is the great king of all the country, and Onnontio were equally firm and constant in their decisions." J. R. G. Shea thought this the early title of the Atotarho. Father Chaumonot was adopted afterwards by Sagochiendagnete, the head chief, and in this case the council name of the Onondaga nation was applied to its greatest man, for it seems the same. The ordinary name of the Onondagas means *People of the Mountain*, but another name appears in our Hiawatha story. He found some Onondagas playing ball, and said they should be known by this name. Morgan and Hale both speak of a Ball clan among the Onondagas, but intelligent Iroquois, both in New York and Canada, deny its existence. On the Onondaga reservation in New York, however, the Small (shining) Turtle clan often style themselves the Ball people. They distinguish themselves from the Turtle clan, sometimes saying that they are related, and sometimes that they are not. Most of the clans are inclined to similar divisions. Charlevoix observed that the Iroquois divided the Tortoise family into two branches, the great and little turtle, and Hale notes the same.

There is a peculiarity in the present pronunciation of Onondaga by the Indians. Among themselves the broad sound is given to *a* in the third syllable, as though written *dah*, but in talking with the whites they as invariably use the long sound, as in *day*.

Page 12. The Cayugas have their common name from their lake, and D. Cusick's name for this is much like that of the French missionaries. The meaning is differently rendered. D. Cusick makes it Go-yo-goh, *Mountain* rising from water. Albert Cusick, Kwe-u-kwe, where they drew their boats ashore; L. H. Morgan, Gwe-u-gweh, *At the mucky land*. All seem to refer to the higher and firm land beyond the Montezuma marshes. The council name varies in the dialects, the Onondagas terming them

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Soh-ne-na-we-too-na, *Great Pipe.* A pipe was their symbol.

Page 12. All seem to agree in placing the early traditional location of the Senecas at Fort Hill, in Naples, and south of Canandaigua lake, but this is somewhat confused with the ancient work on Bare Hill in Middlesex, and east of the lake. The Senecas may have been the earliest of the Iroquois living south of Lake Ontario. They and the Cayugas were probably kindred, and their early relics differ much from those of the three nations further east. Albert Cusick thought that Jen-ne-a-to-wa-ke, sometimes abbreviated to To-na-kah, was a name for the Senecas, *People of many hills.* Their council name means, *Possessing a door*, and is Ho-neen-ho-hone-tah in Onondaga. Morgan gives it as Ho-nan-ne-ho-ont.

The name Seneca appears on Dutch maps of 1614 and 1616, and has been thought an Algonquin term for eaters of flesh, or cannibals. The eastern Indians gave the Mohawks a name with the same meaning, and none of the Five Nations were averse to human flesh. Instances will be given elsewhere. In 1643, Roger Williams said that "The Mauguauogs, or men eaters, that live three or four hundred miles west from us, make a delicious, monstrous dish of the heads and brains of their enemies." The Dutch knew the Five Nations only as Mohawks and Senecas.

Page 13. Kau-ha-gwa-rah-ka is literally a *Cap*, though Erie itself means a *Cat*; as the missionaries thought from the abundance of wild cats there.

Page 13. In Onondaga the Mississippi is Kah-nah-we-yo-ka, with Cusick's meaning.

Page 13. The Tuscaroras are the *Shirt-wearing people.* The Onondagas call them Tus-ki-e-a, and they term themselves Skau-ro-ra, *Wearing a Shirt.* In council they are sometimes called Tu-hah-te-chn-yah-wah-kou, *Those who hold or embrace the great tree.* They occupy a place in the confederacy now much like that of our territories, not being considered part of the Long House in the highest sense. Daniel La Fort said to me,

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"It is the same as though I built a wood-shed on the back of my house, which seems to be part of it, and yet is not."

Page 13. The name of the confederacy is here misspelled, being intended for Goo-nea-seah-neh, a *Long House*, equivalent to the Onondaga Ko-no-si-o-ni.

Page 14. The word squash is from the Indian Askutasquash. In 1656, Van der Donck wrote that the New York Indians "say that their corn and beans were received from the southern Indians, who received their seed from a people who resided still further south. * * Our Indians say that they did eat roots and the bark of trees instead of bread, before the introduction of Indian corn, or maize. * * Before the arrival of the Netherlanders, the Indians raised beans of various kinds and colors, but generally too coarse to be eaten green, or to be pickled, except the blue sort, which are abundant." Beans are now used in Indian corn bread. Roger Williams said of the New England Indians, "The crow brought them at first an Indian grain of corne in one eare, and an Indian or French beane in another, from the great God, Kautantouwit's field in the south-west, from whence they hold came all their corne and beanes."

Loskiel says of Indian corn, "That cultivated by the Iroquois is a variety different from that planted by the Delawares on the river Muskingum. The former ripens sooner than the latter, which probably would never ripen in a colder climate. * * The Delawares and Iroquois dress their corn in twelve different ways. * * They have four different sorts of pumpkins." The Onondagas still raise their own variety of soft white corn.

There are many traditions that all Indians originally ate the bark of trees, and the name of the Adirondacks directly refers to this. In Onondaga the word Ha-te-en-tox means *Tree-eaters*. The Iroquois cultivated a kind of sunflower, making an oil from the seeds, and Charlevoix says they had the common and water melon before the whites came. Although they made maple molasses, he says "It is certain they were ignorant of the art of

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making a sugar from it, which we have since learnt

Page 14. The legends of the Flying Heads seem rora, though the scene of this story is at Onondaga, v are called Ro-nea-rau-yeh-ne. Mrs. Smith published of these.

Page 14. This description of fort building is good, were often more gates. Occasionally earthworks and may have been made as here related, but it is quite pr the earthwork was often used simply as a support for palisades, as logs were in the following account by Van " First, they lay along on the ground large logs of woo quently smaller logs upon the lower logs, which serve dation of the work. Then they place strong oaken p the ground on both sides of the foundation, the upp which cross each other, and are joined together. In crossing of the palisades they then place the bodie which makes the works strong and firm."

Some forts in the eastern part of New York were steep hills, and with but one entrance. Heavy timbe in the ground, with oak palisades on both sides, set c each other. Other timbers are joined between these and an observation tree was left in the middle of the

Instead of this supporting wall, a row of pickets times set in the ground, supported by cross trees wh rested on the ground. In the fort of 1615, described plain as a quadruple palisade of unusual character, the have been two interlacing sets of cross palisades, wi holes. Some earthworks are of the historic period, stockades are of early date. They were often ma town had been settled for some time, which is shown which I have found in banks, and in the bottoms of Purely Iroquois stockades were usually angular, at l the western nations. Plain traces of some still remai

Page 14. The Indians yet make bows and arrow

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simple tools, and probably always did. Arrows are straightened by the hand, and commonly have an expanded and blunt head. In Iroquois forts the flint arrow heads are mostly of a long triangular form, and the later flat copper arrows have the same outline. The grooved bowlders, in use from A. D. 1600 to 1630, are supposed to have been employed in straightening and rounding arrows and other wooden implements. Several grooves may appear in the same stone, and they are very uniform in width and depth. Cusick takes no notice of the snow snake here. There are two patterns of this, the Seneca being much more angular than the Onondaga. At present the head is loaded with lead, and the whole appearance is very snaky when the long and slender stick is thrown across the snow.

Page 15. Earthenware is almost a characteristic of Iroquois sites, and some of the Mohawk and Onondaga vessels, from A. D. 1600 to 1640, are of a peculiar type, having raised human faces or forms on the angles. These have not been found elsewhere, though the first idea has. One feature of these raised figures, the limbs, I have known as a rarity in Canada. The Iroquois preferred bone or horn to stone, and had no flint scrapers or drills.

Page 15. The Stonish Giants suggest wandering parties of mail-clad Europeans. The name given is Oneida; in Onondaga it is Oot-ne-yah-hah. The present Onondagas say that a Stone Giant lived near Cardiff, N. Y., who was once like other men, but he ate much, became a cannibal, and increased in size. His skin turned into hard scales. Every day he came, caught and devoured an Onondaga, and the people were dismayed. At last they made a road through the marsh, with a covered pit-fall, and induced the giant to run along the path. He was destroyed and they were left in peace. When the "Cardiff Giant" was exhumed, the Indians were much excited, believing it was this stony man.

Page 16. Serpents appear in many legends, but in one two great mosquitoes obstruct communication between Onondaga

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and Cayuga, but are finally destroyed by t

Page 16. In the Onondaga story of Hiawatha, H. Clark, Atotarho does not appear at all. In the to Horatio Hale, he is a conspicuous figure. Abou Atotarho seems to have been sometimes known as D. Cusick never mentions Hiawatha, and the stories be local and modern. In his "Frontenac," A. B. that the bird which killed Hiawatha's daughter was dah-ga-ah in Seneca, and Hah-googhs in Onondag that it "was supposed by the Iroquois to have b Hawenneyo to tell Hahyohwonthah that his missi complished, he must return to the happy hunting gro bird of the clouds is the large winter gull, called H the Onondagas, and supposed by them never to ligh lucky to shoot at it. Clark thought it the white her mentions it merely as a strange bird, which one warriors shot.

Page 17. Strictly speaking the Iroquois had wampum until the Dutch came. On early town s territory, shell beads are either very rare, or enti while on the later they are abundant. L. H. Morg used fresh water shell beads, of a spiral form, until rine shells from the Dutch, but none have been fou states that short colored sticks were used until the which is probable. Sticks were occasionally employe Sir William Johnson wrote to Arthur Lee, in 1771, information which you observe I formerly transmitte of New York, concerning the belt and fifteen bloo by the Mississages, the like is very common, and used sticks as well to express the alliance of castles ber of individuals in a party. These sticks are ge 6 inches in length, and very slender, and painted r ject is war, but without any peculiarity as to shape. are mostly black wampum, painted red when they

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they describe castles sometimes upon them as square figures of white wampum, and in alliances human figures holding a chain of friendship; each figure represents a nation. An axe is also sometimes described, which is always an emblem of war."

Among the Onondagas the official title of the "Holder of the Wampum," is Hotch-u-sta-no-na. White wampum had a better meaning than the black, but was of less value. Both kinds are used in all councils and feasts, but all is of modern manufacture. There are proper strings for each part of a ceremony, for every person addressed, and for the call of a council. It was long a legal tender in the colony of New York, and had a fixed value in cases of manslaughter. Loskiel says, "For the murder of a man one hundred yards of wampum, and for that of a woman two hundred yards must be paid by the murderer." Later writers make this much less, but it is curious that the woman's life is double that of the man's in value.

Loskiel says, "Before the Europeans came to North America the Indians used to make their strings of wampum chiefly of small pieces of wood of equal size, stained with black or white. Few were made of muscles, which was esteemed very valuable and difficult to make; for, not having proper tools, they spent much time in finishing them, and yet their work had a clumsy appearance. But the Europeans soon continued to make strings of wampum, both neat and elegant, and in abundance. These they bartered with the Indians for other goods, and found this traffic very advantageous. The Indians immediately gave up the use of the old wooden substitute for wampum, and procured those made of muscles, which, though fallen in price, were always considered valuable." It will thus be seen that shell wampum was simply a new material adapted to an old custom. In 1714 the Five Nations gave some sticks instead of wampum, but replaced them with belts the following year.

The invention of wampum is often ascribed to Hiawatha. In two stories he gathers white shells from a lake, and goes to the

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Mohawk castle adorned with these. The story told me is a variant of this. He builds a fire near the Mohawk town, which was reported to the chief, who sent young men out to see whether it was friend or foe. They crept near, and looked through the bushes. Sitting by the fire they saw an old man stringing short eagle quills. He did not look up, and they went back and made their report. They were sent to invite the old man to a council, but he neither looked up nor answered, stringing the quills as before. They repeated the chief's words, and when they spoke The third time he raised his head, and held up a string of quills, saying, "When your chief wants me at a council, he must send me a string like this." The quills were those of the wampum bird, which soars very high and is rarely seen, but which Hiawatha could call down. The Mohawk chief had none of these, and sent a string of partridge quills instead. Hiawatha came, and first of all showed them how to make and use wampum, and then proposed the league. D. Cusick does not mention wampum before the confederacy. The existing belts, now or recently at Onondaga, seem to be all very recent. It does not seem probable that a single belt was left when the Onondaga towns were pillaged in 1779. I have carefully examined all the Onondaga belts at various times, and all are of white men's beads, and often strings and threads. Some have buckskin thongs. General Carrington, in 1891, secured the Covenant Belt with the United States, and another of interest, for the government. The Covenant Belt had men holding hands, but the chevron appears on some of the wider belts. The widest is forty-nine beads, an unusual width; and one contains over 12,000 shell beads.

Page 17. According to Pyrtæus, "The alliance having been first proposed by a Mohawk chief, the Mohawks rank in the family as the *eldest brother*, the Oneidas as the *eldest son;* the Senecas who were the last at that consented to the alliance, were called the *youngest son;* but the Tuscaroras, who joined the confederacy probably a hundred years afterwards, assumed that name,

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and the Senecas ranked in precedence before them, as being the *next youngest* son, or as we would say, the youngest son but one."

In 1643, the Jesuits said there were two sorts of Iroquois. Those nearest the Hurons were the Santoueronons, the other Agneronons. They were sometimes called Superior and Inferior Iroquois. The Dutch recognized only Mohawks and Senecas. In the Relation of 1641, it is said that by the name of Iroquois the French intended six nations, enemies of the Hurons, Algonquins, Montagnais, etc. Perhaps the Eries were intended by the sixth nation. In 1648 they were distinguished as the Five Nations. The Hurons called them Hotinnonchiendi.

The relative rank and privileges of the nations have been differently described. In the relation of 1645–6, it is said, "Oneida is a tribe, the greater number of whom were destroyed in war by the Upper Algonquins. To recover itself, it was therefore constrained to call in the Mohawks. Whence it comes that the Mohawks call the Oneidas "their daughters."

At a council in 1755, Hendrick said "I will therefore acquaint you with the method which has always been observed by our forefathers on these occasions. The Mohawks, the Onondagas, and the Senecas being the Elder Brothers of the confederacy, the speaker at all public times was chosen out of one or other of these nations, nor was any preference given to either of the three." The Onondaga Kaghswughtioni, or Red Head, was accordingly chosen. Oneida speakers sometimes appear, but may have been borrowed, as occasionally happened.

Charlevoix says that "The name of Iroquois is purely French, and has been formed from the term *hiro*, 'I have spoken,' a word by which these Indians close all their speeches, and *Koue*, which, when long drawn out, is a cry of sorrow, and when briefly uttered, is an exclamation of joy." Mr. Horatio Hale properly objects that they had this name when Champlain came, and it appears on maps as Irocoisia. a little later. He would derive it from *garokwa*, a pipe, or the indeterminate verb *ierokwa*, to smoke.

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He suggests also the word *okwari*, a bear. The first conjecture seems best.

Page 17. Not long since Thomas Webster, Onondaga keeper of wampum, appeared before a committee of the legislature, and said that this wampum "means nothing to white man, all to Indian." If the former were told, he could not understand it, but I have had many strings explained to me, and know the use of those I have in calling councils and raising chiefs. Webster gave the tradition: "There is a tree set in the ground, and it touches the heavens. Under that tree sits this wampum. It sits on a log. Coals of fire (council fire) is unquenchable, and the Six Nations are at the council fire held by the tribe. To-do-da-ho, a member of the Bear clan, is the great chief here. He has a descendant in our tribe to-day. His name is Frank Logan. One of the uses of wampum is for a symbol in the election of officers. The wampum bearer keeps the treaties of the nation." Frank Logan is an Eel, the descendant of a Cherokee.

Page 17. The election of the Senators, or principal chiefs annually, is a singular statement of Cusick's. After the number of chiefs attending the first meeting the number of what might be called hereditary principal chiefs is usually stated to be fifty, perpetuating the names of the founders. That other names were added to these as the power of the nations grew, or dropped when numbers diminished, is certain. These alone remained through every change. The original number in attendance depended on distance, or interest in the proposed league.

The Tuscarora principal chiefs sat in the Grand Council much as territorial delegates sit in the United States Congress. Every nation had its council house, and in 1743 Bartram gave a plan and description of the one at Onondaga. It was eighty feet long by seventeen wide, having a central passage of six feet between the seats. Morgan describes this as though it were a common house.

In one Hiawatha story he tells the assembly, "If you bring

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an enemy into the Long House, you will throw his head to the western gate, and they will burn his hair in the fire." So the last but one of the Seneca chiefs is called "They burned their hair."

Lists of the fifty principal chiefs of the Five Nations have been published by Mr. L. H. Morgan in his "League of the Iroquois," and Mr. H. Hale in the "Iroquois Book of Rites." The former is from Seneca sources, and the latter embraces both the Mohawk and Onondaga dialects, as written by native Iroquois. I carefully went through the list with Albert Cusick, and took them down in the Onondaga tongue, as given below. He supplied some meanings, and differed from Messrs. Morgan and Hale in a very few. The Mohawk sachems were nine, and of these Te-ki-e-ho-ken stands first as the founder of the league. The meaning is "Two voices," but Morgan makes it "Neutral, or the Shield." This name Cusick applies to the nation.

Hi-e-wat-ha, made famous by Longfellow, comes next. The two writers mentioned differ in its signification, the one rendering it "He who combs," and the other "He who seeks the wampum belt." Albert Cusick differed from both, making it "One who looks for his mind, which he has lost, but knows where to find it." This suggests the persistence of purpose which Mr. Hale ascribes to him.

Shat-e-ki-e-wat-he is "Two stories in one;" i. e., the same story from two persons. This is essentially the same as Mr. Hale's "Two equal statements."

Sah-e-ho-na, "He is a tree with large branches."

Te-yon-ha-kwen, "That which we live on."

O-weh-he-go-na, "Large flower."

Te-hah-nah-gai-eh-ne, "Two horns lying down."

Ha-stah-wen-sent-hah, "Holding the rattles."

Sau-te-gai-e-wat-ha, "Plenty of large limbs on a tree."

The Oneida principal chiefs come next, and some of these may be seen in early treaties.

Tat-sheh-te, or O-tat-sheh-te, "Bearing a quiver."

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Ga-no-gwen-u-ton, "Setting up ears of corn in a row."

Ty-o-ha-gwen-te. "Open voice."

Sho-non-ses, "His long house."

To-na oh-ge-na, "Two branches of water."

Hat-ya-ton-nent-ha, "He swallows his own body from the foot."

Te-ha-tah-on-ten-yonk, "Two hanging ears."

Ha-nea-tok-hae-yea, "Throat lying down."

Ho-way-ha-tah-koo, "They disinter him."

The Onondaga principal chiefs follow:

Tah-too-ta-hoo, "Entangled." Formerly of the Bear clan, now of the Eel.

Ho-ne-sa-ha. The only meaning assigned to this is "The best soil uppermost," and this doubtfully.

Te-hat-ka-tons, "Looking all over."

O-ya-ta-je-wak, "Bitter in the throat."

Ah-we-ke-yat, "End of the water."

Te-hah-yut-kwa-ye, "Red on the wing."

Ho-no-we-eh-to, "He has disappeared."

Ga-wen-ne-sen-ton, "Her voice scattered."

Ha-he-ho, "Spilling now and then."

Ho-neo-nea-ne, "Something was made for him and laid down before him."

Sah-de-gwa-se, "He is bruised."

Sah-ko-ke-he. "He may see them."

Hoo-sah-ha-ho, "Wearing a weapon in his belt."

Ska-nah-wah-ti, "Over the water."

Te-ka-ha-hoonk, "He looks both ways."

The Cayuga chiefs are next:

Ta-ge-non-tah-we-yu, "Coming on its knees."

Ka-ta-kwa-je, "It was bruised."

So-yone-wes, "He has a long wampum belt."

Ta-ta-as-yon-e, "He puts one on another."

To-wen-yon-go, "It touches the sky."

Jote-to-wa-ko, "Cold on both sides."

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Ta-hah-wet-ho, "Mossy place."
Too-tah-he-ho, "Crowding himself in."
De-kah-he, "Resting on it."
Last come the Seneca chiefs:
Kan-ya-tai-yo, "Beautiful lake."
Sat-te-kaa-yes, "Skies of equal length."
Sa-tea-na-wat, "He holds on to it."
Sa-ken-jo-nah, "Large forehead."
Ga-noon-gai-e, "Threatened."
Nis-hi-nea-nent-hah, "The day fell down."
Kah-none-ye-eh-tah-we, "They burned their hair."
Ta-ho-ne-ho-gah-wen, "He open door."

These vary considerably from both Morgan and Hale's lists, in pronunciation, but I carefully took them down in Onondaga, with both these at hand. To use an Onondaga expression, each of these has a war chief who stands behind him.

Chiefs who had their office simply from their good and benevolent deeds, were pine trees rooted in the sky. They could not be removed, and had seats in the Grand Council. A council fire was extinguished at the death of a chief, and business could not be resumed until after the condolement. A case of this kind at Onondaga, at the commencement of the Revolution, perplexed Mr. Stone, in writing his life of Brant. The ceremony of condolence varied much, but had some fixed features.

Page 17. It seems a principal among the Huron-Iroquois that the child should be of the mother's clan and nation. This now stands in the way of a division of land. If an Onondaga marries an Oneida woman, as many have done, the children are Oneidas, and have no claim on Onondaga lands.

Page 17. The Squawkihows (this being Cusick's spelling,) are supposed to have been the Indians living at Squakie Hill, among the Senecas, and were, perhaps a remnant of the Eries, who were overthrown in 1654. Some are still found on Seneca reservations.

Page 18. After the Hurons were overthrown in 1649, and the

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Neutrals and Eries a little later, the way was open to
sissaugers farther west. After a time these began to
history. The name of Twakanha is applied to all w
dians by the Onondagas. The Iroquois attacked th
in 1650, and again in 1651. They left their towns,
ands perished. The Erie war began in 1654. Twelv
Iroquois warrior went in canoes on Lake Erie, which w
the Eries well to the west. They fell back and collec
town, using poisoned arrows with fatal effect. The I
first repulsed, used their canoes first as shields, then
ladders. The carnage was dreadful, and the Eries ce
ist as a nation. The Neutrals called themselves Akou
Hurons termed them Attiwandaronk, "A people with
a little different." Their principal villages were in Ca
they had three in New York, from Buffalo northward.

When Brebeuf and Chaumonot visited the Neutral
the Niagara was called Onguiaahra, and a village had
name. The fathers said, "There is every reason fo
that not long since the Hurons, Iroquois and Neu
formed one people."

Marshall thought the Kah Kwahs were Neutrals.
nelli's map, 1688, a village was located near Buffalo, ca
kouagoga," a destroyed nation. Marshall thought the
ther to the southwest. Father L'Allemant, 1641, wrot
Huron mission of Sainte Marie. He speaks of the
"From their first village, which is about forty leagues
from Sainte Marie, it is four days' travel, in a southe
rection, to where the celebrated river of the Neuter N
ties into Lake Ontario. On the west, and not on th
side of said river, are the principal villages of that nati
are three or four on the eastern side, extending fro
west towards the Eries or Cat Nation. This river is tha
our great lake of the Hurons is discharged, after havin

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into Lake Erie, or Lake of the Cat Nation, and it takes the name of On-gui-aah-ia until it empties into Ontario or St. Louis Lake."

Page 18. In Onondaga the Great Bear is O-yeah-kwa-ha, or Kah-yah-kwah-ha.

Page 18. Ohiokea is "Plenty of fruit." Skonyatates lake may be the one of this name on the west side of Onondaga county, but is more probably one of the small lakes of Madison county, called Scaniadoris, or Long lake, in an early treaty. It is probable that the Tuscarora town Sganatees, mentioned by Zeisberger, was here. The Iroquois do not hesitate to bring the lion into their stories. It appears in that of Okwencha, or Red Paint, and elsewhere.

Page 18. The story of the Great Mosquito, Kah-ye-yah-ta-ne-go-na, "The big troublesome fellow that likes to bite often," varies much. Sometimes there are two of these, but most agree in the chase and its results. Until recently his tracks, and those of the Holder of the Heavens, were to be seen near Brighton, just south of Syracuse, being often renewed by the Indians. Those of the mosquito were bird-like, twenty inches long, and extended twenty rods. He was killed at Centerville, northeast of Syracuse, still called Kah-yah-tak-ne-t'ke-tah-keh, "Where the mosquito lies." The Tuscaroras point out a curious stone on their reservation, where the Holder of the Heavens lay down to rest and smoke, during the pursuits. It has a depression where he reclined, and a hollow made by his arm in rising, and a hole burned where he emptied his pipe.

One Onondaga story told of two of these monsters, dwelling on the Seneca river above Cross lake, and another placed them at Montezuma, where the combined forces of the Onondagas and Cayugas destroyed them.

Page 18. Travelers often yet inquire whether the waters of Onondaga lake are salt. When Vanderkamp made his journey through Oneida lake and river, in 1792, he said, "Everywhere are salt springs, and but a few miles from Oneyda lake, in Onon-

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daga, is a copious salt lake, encircled with salt springs." So short had been the sojourn of the Onondagas in the vicinity, that they thought a bad spirit inhabited the springs at the time Le Moyne visited them, August 16, 1654.

Page 19. In Onondaga Big Neck's name is So-neah-too-nah, and this is applied to Oxford, called by Morgan, So-de-ah-lo-wa-nake, or "Thick-necked Giant." There was an earthwork there, and the other, mentioned by Cusick, on the south bank of the Susquehanna, would be that at Sidney Plains. A line is evidently left out. After "Soh-nou-re-wah, i. e., Big Neck," it probably should read that he committed depredations on the Shawnees. Shawnee means *south*. Some of them were adopted by the Iroquois, but these were held in low esteem. It is even now a great reproach to say to a man "you are nothing but a Sewanee." Other nations were not despised, and the present Atotarho, at Onondaga, is of Cherokee descent. The Shawnees desired to settle near Chautauqua lake in 1725, but did not do so. They once lived in Georgia and Florida. Van der Donck said, (1625) "With the Minquas we include the Senecas, the Maquas, and other inland tribes. The Savanoos are the southern nations." After destroying the Andastes the Iroquois attacked the Miami Shawnees, and dispersed them. Mitchell's map, of 1755, says that, in 1672, the Iroquois subdued, and incorporated with themselves, "the antient CHAOUANONS, the native proprietors of those countries and the River OHIO. * * Those about Philadelphia, who were called Sauwanoos, we now called Shawanoes or Shawnoes." Nicholas Perrot lived among the Indians for thirty years subsequent to 1665. He said that the Iroquois lived at Montreal, but fled to Lake Erie, where dwelt the Chaouanons. These fought against them, and drove them to the shores of Lake Ontario. Afterwards the Iroquois drove them to Carolina, but still remained in New York. Colden and others tell much the same story. They are sometimes called Satanas.

The Oneidas made their settlements on the Susquehanna in

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the eighteenth century. The name here given, which more correctly is Kah-nah-seh-na-sah-wa-de-u-yea, means "Sandy place." In Onondaga it is Kah-na-se-u, "Nice sand."

The earthwork at Oxford was in the village, and near the river. On one side the bank is naturally precipitous, and a semi-circular wall and trench extended from this, enclosing about three-fourths of an acre. The gates were at each end of the wall. Nothing was found but coarse pottery, and it was probably not long occupied. I have examined an earthwork in Oswego county as barren of implements. This was of the Iroquois type. The mound two miles below Greene seemed the work of another people. The fort at Sidney Plains had also a bank and ditch, and enclosed about three acres.

Page 19. No message had official recognition unless accompanied by a belt or string of wampum. An Oneida chief, Abram Hill, explained to me his strings of council wampum. After speaking of the white man's use of credentials, he said that wampum had the same character. If he sent a man without it, but with an official message, no attention would be paid to it; if he bore wampum his words would be heard. "Indian's wampum same as white man's letter."

Page 20. In the Onondaga story the serpent is called Kus-hise-too-wan, "Big Snake," and had but one head. The tale is much the same, but differs slightly towards the close. The warriors were in despair, but all laughed when a boy offered to kill him. First he made a bow of basswood, and an arrow of red willow. Then he dipped the arrow in a young woman's catamenia, and went to the serpent, examining it carefully. Then he said, "I think his heart is just there," and shot, but the arrow only clung to the scales. Then it seemed alive, and began to twist and turn into the skin until it reached the heart. In great agony the serpent rolled down the steep hill-side into the lake, vomiting men dead and alive, and at last died in the water.

The scene of this legend is not at the earlier supposed site, at

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the head of Canandaigua Lake, but at Bare Hill, some miles down on the eastern shore. The summit of this is about 1,000 feet above the lake, and was bare of trees when the whites settled near it. There was an enclosure of stones, with a ditch, on the summit, but the stones are now mostly scattered. No account has been given of relics, or other signs of occupation, nor has a plan ever been published.

Page 21. This should be Atotarho V. Ke-ti-yen-goo-wah is *Big Swamp*, (of tamarack,) near Tonawanda. In history the Ottawas do not appear until the Huron war. After that, and the destruction of the Neutrals, they came in contact with the Five Nations. Their history is somewhat curious, especially as regards the name. The French at first called them *Cheveux relevez*, and sometimes *Nez Percez*. They lay southwest of the Hurons, and the Iroquois warred against them after the fall of that nation. "Some of these tribes pierce the nose, from which they hang beads." In 1632, Sagard called them Andatahouats, whence we have the name of Ottawas. They tattooed themselves, generally going naked, and wore the hair erect in front.

In the Relation of 1666–7, it is said that "The Outaouacs pretend that the great river belongs to them, and that no nation can navigate it without their consent; this is the reason why all those who go to trade with the French, although of very different nations, bear the name of Outaouacs, under the auspices of whom they make the voyage. The ancient abode of the Outaouacs was a district of Lake Huron, from whence the fear of the Iroquois has driven them, and to which all their desires tend, as to their native country." At that time they were assailed by the Iroquois on one side, and the Sioux on the other.

The Relation of 1668–9 speaks of the same thing. "As we have given the name of Outaouacs to all the savages of these countries, although of different nations, because the first who have appeared among the French have been Outaouacs, so is it also with the name of the Illinois."

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La Hontan, in speaking of the island Manitoutin, says, "In former times it was possessed by the Outaowas, called Otoutagans, who were dislodged by the progress of the Iroquois that has ruined so many nations." They were prominent in 1673, when Frontenac thought a proposed treaty between them and the Five Nations so important as to need special prevention. This led to the building of Fort Frontenac, at Kingston in Canada. Two years before De Courcelles had effected a peace between the Iroquois and Ottawas. It was said then that the Iroquois were so inclined for war, as to fight, not only against their neighbors, but nations 600 leagues away.

In 1686 the Iroquois again tried to make friends with them, saying that the French had no exclusive right to trade with the Ottawas, and other nations who wore pipes in their noses. Frontenac, however, increased their enmity. In 1695 the Ottawas were invited, by an express from him, to come and roast an Iroquois, and drink his broth. He died before he could be burned, but they ate part of him. In 1718 they had a fort opposite Detroit, and were industrious, having many habits like the Hurons. Some lived farther north.

Page 22. The name of Chautauqua was early applied to the lake and the termination of the connecting portage on Lake Erie. In De Celoron's expedition it prominently appears in this way. On the English boundary map of 1768, it is placed on Lake Erie, as Jadahque. The French spelling is Chadakoin, with variations. Several meanings have been assigned to it, but the true one seems to be "When the fish was taken out," in allusion to a strange kind caught there. It is called Tjadakoin, on D'Auville's map of 1755.

Page 23. The story of the Lizard is not very clearly expressed, but suggests Hercules and the hydra. It may refer to a place in Erie county, N. Y., Lancaster being called Ga-squen-da-geh, "Place of the lizard."

Page 24. The western expedition seems much like a story

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popular among the Iroquois, but which is seldom told twice alike. The narrator is supposed to be a traveler, telling what he has seen. The more varied and strange it is, the more it is enjoyed.

Page 24. The Dog Tail Nation is hardly stranger than stories told by white men a hundred years ago. In 1763, the Great Council at Onondaga sent a string of wampum to the Delawares on the Susquehanna, advising them not to take sides with the French: "This string of wampum comes to let you know that the French that were killed is come alive again, and that there is seven of our posts taken, and all the people killed by the French and a number of wild Indians that have tails like beavers, and live a great way from hence, they can't say how far." This may refer to some peculiarity of dress, like the tails in some of Catlin's pictures.

Travelers see strange things. In the life of David Zeisberger, page 361, it is said, "They steered up the Beaver, and beyond the rapids came to the first town since leaving the fort. It was inhabited—strange to say—by a community of women, all single, and all pledged never to marry."

Page 25. Lentahkeh should probably be Ken-tah-keh, the Onondaga name for Kentucky, meaning a swampy country.

Page 25. The Iroquois were hardly habitual cannibals, and yet had the credit of being such. They certainly had no dislike to human flesh, provided it was tender. In their first warlike encounter with the Dutch, portions of the slain were sent round to their villages. Father Jegues gave an account of a human sacrifice to Aireskoi, which he witnessed among the Mohawks. The victim was a woman, and she was eaten.

Heckwelder quotes from Pyrlæus a statement made by a chief: "The Five Nations formerly did eat human flesh: they at one time ate up a whole body of the French King's soldiers; they say *Eto niocht ochquari*, which is, Human flesh tastes like bear's meat. They also said that the hands are not good eating; they are *yongarat*, bitter." The Iroquois were "known to eat human

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flesh, and to kill men for the purpose of devouring them, and therefore were not considered by the Lenape a pure race, or as rational beings, but a mixture of the human and brutal kinds." This is exaggeration.

Page 27. Corrected from 4,000 years. Cusick gives a liberal time to each Atotarho. The reigns of three, including this one, cover a space of only 250 years, and the twelve preceding the coming of Columbus are allowed 1,000 years. Three Atotarhos have each a century's reign.

Page 27. The fort Kauhanauka, is called Kienuka by Schoolcraft, and located on the rocky heights of the Tuscarora reservation, but it presents but slight traces of artificial defence. The meaning is modern, "Where the cannon point down."

Page 28. This story of a Stone Giant is related at Onondaga; but the place was at Green Lake, a curious and deep pond, with precipices on three sides, two hundred feet high, and a reputed resort of the False Faces. In this the giant does not catch the man, but his pointer is taken from him, and again restored.

Page 29. The belief in witches is still very strong among the Onondagas, and is well described here. I have been in a cave, on the reservation, where it is said their bodies were thrown after being cut in pieces. Several popular witch stories have been told me. In one a man goes to a witch meeting to be initiated. All drink a small portion of serpent's blood, and assume various forms. They acquire the power of causing deadly sickness by a look, and a favorite disguise for the neophyte is that of an owl.

In this and other matters, the Nanticokes had an evil name. On Capt. John Smith's map, of 1608, they are on the east shore of Chesapeake Bay, and eastward of the Susquehanna. They became tributary to the Five Nations in 1680, and removed to New York about seventy years later.

Loskiel says, "The Nanticokes instructed the Delawares and Iroquois in preparing a peculiar kind of poison, which is capable of infecting whole townships and tribes, with diseases as perni-

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cious as the plague. The Nanticokes, who were the wretched inventors of this art, have utterly destroyed their own nation by it." It is proper to say that the Onondagas charged the French, before this, with introducing poisoning arts among them.

Loskiel says, also, "The Nanticokes have this singular custom, that about three, four or more months after the funeral, they open the grave, take out the bones, clean and dry them, wrap them up in new linen, and inter them again." Heckwelder speaks of this, "These Nanticokes had the singular custom of removing the bones of their deceased friends from the burial place to a place of deposit in the country they dwelt in. In earlier times they were known to go from Wyoming and Chemenk (Chemung) to fetch the bones of the dead from the eastern shore of Maryland, even when the bodies were in a putrid state, so that they had to take off the flesh and scrape the bones clean, before they could carry them along. I well remember having seen them between the years 1750 and 1760, loaded with such bones, which, being fresh, caused a disagreeable stench as they passed through the town of Bethlehem." They called the Delawares, Grandfathers. Their own name was Nentego; the Delawares called them Unechtgo, and the Iroquois the Sganiateratieh-rohne, all meaning *Tide Water People.*

Page 30. Kau-neh-sun-tàh-keh is really the name of St. Anne's, in Canada, but there may have been an earlier Oneida village of this name. It suggests Canaseraga, which is farther west. Names were often carried by emigrants to new places, or clung to a village through all its successive removals, but it was very common for a village to have several names, especially in different dialects.

Page 30. The story of the vampyre appears in Mrs. E. A. Smith's Iroquois Myths, as "The Dead Hunter," and I have published an Onondaga variant, which I had from Albert Cusick, as "The Terrible Skeleton." There are other stories of vampyres, but this is the best known. It may be premised that the Onon-

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dagas always speak of their whole territory, ancient or modern, as their reservation.

In old times the Onondagas lived on a great reservation, and sometimes went to hunt in the North Woods. In one party of hunters was an old man, his daughter and her husband, and their little boy. They went one day and camped, and another day and camped, and then separated. The old man, his daughter and her husband, went one way, but the little boy went with his uncle, which was fortunate in the end. Late in the day the three found an empty cabin in a clearing. There was an Indian bedstead on each side, and as no one seemed to live there they prepared to stay the night. They gathered fuel, stripping long pieces from the shag-bark hickory, built a fine fire, spread their deer-skins on the bedsteads, and then went to sleep; the old man on one side, and the man and his wife on the other. When the fire was low, and the cabin grew dark, the young people suddenly woke, hearing a sound like a dog gnawing a bone. As they stirred the noise ceased, but was followed by a sound like rattling bones, overhead. They rose, put on more fuel, and were going back to bed when they saw something flowing from the other couch. The old man was dead, his clothes were torn open, his ribs broken and gnawed. They covered him up, and lay down again. The fire went down, and soon there came the same sound. This time they saw a terrible skeleton feeding on the dead man. It disappeared when they moved, and they formed a plan of escape. They made a greater fire, and the wife said, "Husband, I am so thirsty; I must go to the spring and drink." So she went out quietly, but when a little way off she ran with all her might towards her own country. When the man thought she had a good start, he made a very big fire, to last a long time, and then he said, "What has become of my wife? I am afraid she is drowned in the spring! I must go and see." So he went out, and soon ran with all his might until he overtook his wife. He caught her by the arm, and they ran on together.

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When the fire once more went down the skeleton came again, starting in chase when he found they were gone. Soon they heard him howling terribly behind them, and they ran faster still. That night there was an Onondaga feast, and it now drew near day. They heard the drum sounding tum-tum, tum-tum, and they ran harder, shouting with all their might, but the skeleton did the same. They heard the drum again, *tum-tum, tum-tum;* it was nearer, and they shouted again. Their friends heard, and came with all their arms. The skeleton turned and fled. The fugitives fell down, fainting, and did not regain their senses for four hours. Then they told their story.

A council was held, and the warriors went to the dreadful spot. In the hut were a few traces of the old man, and in the loft was a bark coffin, in which was the skeleton of a man left unburied by his friends. They determined to burn all; fuel was gathered on every side and fire applied. Then the warriors stood around, with raised axes and bended bows, ready to destroy the terrible skeleton if it came against them. The cabin fell in, and out of the flames sprang a fox, with red and fiery eyes, burst through the ranks and vanished in the woods. The dreadful skeleton was never heard of more.

Page 30. It is often thought that the Indians had a fixed mode of burial, which was not the case. As Cusick states, the Iroquois changed burial customs from time to time, as other Indians did. In this instance the house where the dead bodies were kept seems to point to a time when these were kept for a periodical burial in the great bone-pits or ossuaries. This was a custom among the Hurons, and probably in Western New York, but not among the eastern Iroquois. Except in Jefferson county bone pits hardly occur as far east as Onondaga. It will be noticed also that Cusick here speaks of a sitting posture, *face to the east*, a posture often mentioned by early writers, and familiar to archæologists, but opposed to common opinions, many supposing that all the Indians were buried facing the west. Although

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the knees are usually drawn up, the burial might often be called horizontal in other respects. Sometimes graves afford no relics of any kind. Until recently the Onondagas and Tuscaroras, at least, maintained clan burial in rows, so that a husband and wife were not buried together.

In Morell's Poem of New England, 1625, an Indian burial is described:—

> "Their dead wrapt up in mats, to the grave they give
> "Upright to th' knees with goods whilst they did live,
> "Which they best lov'd; their eyes turned to the east
> "To which after much time to be releast
> "They all must march, where all shall all things have
> "That heart can wish, or they themselves can crave."

Graves were often palisaded, and this everywhere. Loskiel says, "At the head of the corpse, which always lies towards the east, a tall post is erected, pointing out who is buried there. If the deceased was a chief of a tribe or nation, the post is only neatly carved, but not painted. But if he was a captain, it is painted red, and his head and glorious deeds are portrayed upon it. * * * * The burial place of a physician is hung with small tortoise shells, or a calabash, which he uses in his practice." These posts are often described, and the village of Painted Post has its name from one of note.

Megapolensis said that the Mohawks "place their dead upright in holes, and do not lay them down, and then they throw some trees and wood on the grave, or enclose it with palisades."

Stone heaps occur, as monuments, in many places. A chief is supposed to have been killed at Dansville, N. Y., and Hosmer says, "When the whites first settled here, the spot where he fell was marked by a large hole, dug in the shape of a man prostrate, with his arms extended. An Indian trail led by the place, and the passing red men were accustomed to clear away the dry leaves and brush blown in by the winds. The chief was interred in an old burial place near the present site of the Lutheran church in the village of Dansville. * * * * His monument consisted

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of a large pile of small stones, gathered from time to time by the natives from a hill a mile distant."

I have known instances, in Onondaga county, of Indians keeping supposed historic marks clean, but stone heaps were not always memorials of the dead.

In going from Cayuga to Onondaga in 1666, an Indian cast a stick upon two round stones, which were surrounded with symbols of superstition. He said, "Koue! askennon eskatongot!" This means, "Hold! this is to pay my passage, in order that I may proceed in safety." Many stone heaps in New England had a superstitious use, but not all. In Penhallow's Indian Wars, it is related that at a treaty of peace in 1802, the Indians presented to Governor Dudley "a belt of wampum, and invited him to the two pillars of stone, which at a former treaty were erected, and called by the significent name of the Two Brothers; unto which both parties went, and added a great number of stones."

At a funeral of a man, which Kirkland attended at Kanadesaga, in 1764, about 150 Seneca women and girls were present, but no men besides himself and the grave-digger. At Onondaga now, ten days after the funeral, women invite others to a dead feast. Instead of wampum a kernel of corn accompanies the invitation. One man is invited as speech-maker. The women bring pails of provisions, and these are passed around, so that each has something from all the rest. Part out of all is also put in the big kettle, and one dish of this is set on the table for the dead. All partake of this. In Canada it is more like a seance.

Page 30. Cusick is the only authority for the Otter clan, though clans were not always permanent. Sir William Johnson mentions the Snake, which was probably the Eel clan of the Onondagas. A. Cusick tells me that the Onondagas alone have this, he and the present Atotarho belonging to it. The Eels among the Tuscaroras are Onondagas. Among the Senecas the Potato and some other clans have disappeared. The Mohawks and the Oneidas have but the three principal, and probably

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original clans of the Bear, Turtle and Wolf. Among the Mohawks, Megapolensis mentioned these three, and added of the Bear and Wolf clans. "The last are a progeny of these, and their castle is called Thenondiogo." He may have meant that two of these at first lived in one village, and it is worthy of note that there are but two known Mohawk villages which have any claim to be prehistoric. He adds that "Every one of these tribes carries the beast after which it is called, (as the arms in its banner) when it goes against its enemies, and this is done as well for the terror of its enemies, as for a sign of its own bravery."

There was no *plan* in the division of clans, forming a bond of union between the nations, as has been often said, though a national bond there was to some extent, where the clans were common to all. Marriages in the same clans were formerly, but are not now forbidden.

At a conference with Gov. Bellomont, in 1700, sixteen sachems waited on him, "alleging all business of moment was to be transacted by the Three Ensigns that the Five Nations consisted of, to-wit.: the Bear, the Wolf, and the Turtle; and therefore one from each of these tribes or ensigns in each nation was to be present."

The clans varied, and still vary in the different nations, with a tendency to subdivide. It is probable that the Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas added to the original clans by adoption. In an account of the Seneca clans at an early day, 1666, they were in two divisions. The first was Guey-niotitesheshgue, meaning four tribes. In this the Turtle, Atiniathin, was first, because the Master of life placed the earth on a tortoise. The Wolf was second, and being brother to the Turtle, they consulted together. This clan was called Enanthayonni, or Cahenhisenhoron. The Bear was Atiniorguin, and the Beaver was his brother. The names of the clans are not those of their totems. The second division was called Ouiche-niotitesheshgue, or five tribes. In it were the Deer, Canendeshe; the Potato, Schoneschioronon; the

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Great Plover, Otinanchahe; the Little Plover, Asco, or Nicohes; the Eagle, Canonchahonronon. The name of the last means two cabins united, because their cabin of several fires was within the earth, and divided by a partition. Knowing no one else they intermarried. In councils these divisions took opposite sides of the fire. Loskiel writes "The Iroquois say that the Indians formerly lived underground, but hearing accidentally of a fine country above, they left their subterranean habitations, and took possession of the surface."

In 1763, the Seneca clans were the Turtle, Bear, Beaver, Eel, Lark, Plover, Falcon, Partridge, Potato, and Deer. By some mistake the Wolf is left out.

Charlevoix says that the Huron family was divided into the Bear, Wolf, and Turtle clans, but that writers were confused because each village was also represented by an animal.

Page 30. The Iroquois were quite averse to punishing murder with death, though it was sometimes done. They much preferred expiatory presents. In early days both sexes were continent, in marked contrast to other nations. As an act of hospitality, however, temporary wives were provided for distinguished visitors.

Pags 31. The False Faces are yet a prominent body, and it is easy either to join or leave them. They form a secret society on each reservation, and wear masks when taking part in any ceremony. These were formerly of wood, carved and painted. Mine is of this kind, and now has attached to it a small bag of tobacco lest the spirit in it should become dissatisfied and make trouble. The False Faces visit the sick when required, and open the white dog feast. Soon after they have a feast of their own. A story of the False Faces is connected with Green Pond, west of Jamesville. In Clark's Onondaga this is erroneously called Kaiyahkoo, a name belonging to Green Lake near Kirkville. The former was called Tue-yah-das-so, or "Hemlock Limbs in the water." This was the reputed ancient resort of the False

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Faces for their greatest mysteries. An Onondaga one night heard many voices there, and crept quietly to the edge of the high rocks, which on three sides bound the pond. Looking down from the brink of the precipice, he saw the False Faces coming up from the water, heavily loaded with fish. They were merrily shouting, "Hoh! hoh-o-o-oh!" as they came. But their old leader called out, "Some one is coming! look out!" So they entered the rocky wall in single file. The hunter heard their voices in the rocks far under him, until their songs died away, and all was quiet again.

Page 31. In its essential feature of sacrifice the White Dog Feast seems quite modern, but in point of time it corresponds with the old Dream Feast, taking its place, and retaining some of its features. The latter was called Ononhouaroia, by the Hurons, and we have a graphic account of its celebration at Onondaga in 1656. The Jesuits called it a turning of the head, but it is more properly the asking, or Begging Feast. Granting its identity, it is now called Hoo-no-why-yah-ha, in Onondaga, for men. Making known and obtaining wishes, are leading features. A woman wants something, and a man speaks for her. "You hear! She begs." (With a rumbling like a bull.) "Guess what it is." She has told him her dream, or desire. Some one says, perhaps in joke, "May be she'll like this." "Neah;" i. e., No. One house guesses for the other, and they have some fun out of this. At last the right thing is mentioned, and the response is "Neah-wen-ha," or "Thank you." Both houses, (the long and short,) take part in this. The day of burning is called Koon-wah-yah-tun-was, i. e., "They are burning dog." Several days are allowed to the feast, which has been often described.

The white dog is no longer buried at Onondaga, though a few years ago two were sacrificed. Confession of sins on wampum, and the cleansing of hearths have been prominent features. Allusions to the idea of clothing the Creator occur in the journals of Sullivan's campaign in 1779, though the sacrifice alone is men-

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tioned, and not the annual winter feast. In Canada, one name is "Re-robing the Creator." During Sullivan's campaign, Lieut.-Col. Dearborn wrote, "At several towns that our army has destroyed, we found dogs hanging up on poles about twelve or fifteen feet high, which we are told, is done by way of sacrifice. When they are unfortunate in war they sacrifice two dogs in the manner above mentioned, to appease their imaginary God. One of these dog's skins they suppose is converted into a jacket, and another into a tobacco pouch for their god." In the Genesee country, Major Foggo wrote, "Two dogs were found suspended from a pole, which signified that evil spirit was to be pacified by their skins, which would serve to make him a tobacco pouch and waistcoat." The feast differed much in the different towns.

When fully carried out the feast is fourteen days long. Three days are devoted to religious services, including confession of sins on wampum. Three days of gambling follow, the clans being divided for this. On the last day of this two False Faces go to the several houses, and poke in the ashes, but do not now put out the fire. In the evening there are ceremonies at the council house. One party is there, and the other at another house not far off. Speeches are made in each, and they remain apart three days. They guess, as in the old dream feast. On the seventh and eighth, the False Faces come in a body. The white dog (formerly two, and none now) was burned on the ninth morning, being first strangled and painted. There is a dance for the children on the tenth day, when the children are named, and persons adopted. The dance for the Four Persons, Ki-yae-ne-ung-qua-ta-ka, comes on the eleventh day. On the twelfth day are dances for the Holder of the Heavens. The dance for the Thunders comes on the thirteenth day; the men and women taking opposite sides in gambling the next morning. If the men beat, there will be a good season; the ears of corn will be long, not short like women.

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From seven to ten days later the False Faces search the houses, receive gifts, and have dances at the council house.

Among the Onondagas the Maple dance has ceased, as they make no more sugar. It is called Heh-teis-ha-stone-tas, "Putting in syrup."

The Planting dance is Ne-ya-yent-wha-hunkt, or "Planting time."

The strawberry Feast is Hoon-tah-yus, adding the name of the berry, "Putting in strawberries." The idea is that the feast puts in, or procures more berries.

The Green Bean Dance is Ta-yun-tah-ta-t'kwe-t'ak-hunkt, "Breaking the bellies," i. e., the protruding beans in the pods.

T'unt-kwa-hank cha ne-kah-neh-host-ha, is "Dance of the green corn."

T'unt-kwa-hank cha ne-unt-hent-tee-ah-hunk, is "Dance for the harvest;" all is finished.

When used in any feast, Ken-yent-hah is "gambling."

Page 31. The tobacco used by the Onondagas is not the common species, but another, *Nicotiana rustica*, with yellow flowers. This is always used in religious ceremonies, or for any kind of charm. When young men go out to dig ginseng they often strew a little of this over the first plant they find, and leave it for good luck. This is probably the kind which the Petun, or Tobacco Nation of Canada, raised to sell.

Loskiel says, "The species in common use with the Delawares and Iroquois is so strong that they never smoke it alone, but smoke it with the dried leaves of the sumac," or other plants. In a gale on Oneida lake, Tekanadie, the adopted brother of the Rev. Samuel Kirkland, solemnly threw out two bunches of tobacco, having never known that amount to fail of quieting a storm. When this did not succeed he allowed the missionary to pray. This species is called Oyenkwa honwe, "Real Tobacco."

The Iroquois commonly made clay pipes, and often of large size. The Susquehannas had pipes three feet long, with carved

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bowls heavy enough to brain a man. Sir William Johnson, February 23, 1756, gave the Six Nations the largest pipe in America, to be hung up in the Onondaga council house, in full sight of all. This was to be smoked when they were perplexed.

Roger Williams said, "Sometimes they make such great pipes, both of wood and stone, that they are two feet long, with men and beasts carved, so big or massie, that a man may be hurt mortally by one of them, but these commonly came from the Mauquawogs, (Mohawks,) or the men-eaters, three or four hundred miles from us. They have an excellent art to cast our pewter and brasse into very neate and artificial pipes." I have drawn some of both metals, but they are rare now, like most articles of metal. Figures on early pipes commonly face the smoker, but from the same grave, of the historic period, I have seen one of this kind, and another with the face at right angles with the bowl.

Page 31. Dreams were of so much importance among the Iroquois, that the great annual feast, now known as that of the White Dog, was anciently termed the Dream Feast by the French. They found the dream the great obstacle in their life among the Hurons and Iroquois, and have recorded many ludicrous and alarming stories of the effects of dreams. They observed, however, that though the Iroquois seemed to worship the dream, this was a mistake. It was one of the inferior deities, Agatkonchoria, who spoke to them through dreams.

Page 31. The story of the sick medicine man was told a little differently by Mrs. E. A. Smith. An Onondaga friend of mine taught her daughter the use of herbs in a very good way. She went with her to the woods, found a plant, showed its features, and explained its uses, and then went home. A week later they went again, but this time the daughter found the plant, and told how it should be used. Of many plants the Indians know very little, even of common kinds.

Page 32. The story of the queen who lived in the peace house, has been enlarged by some, and connected with the Neu-

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trals, who were simply styled such as taking no part in the war between the Hurons and Five Nations. Although their enemies the Hurons were closely related to the Mohawks, and their language was nearly the same. Strictly the latter was the only Canadian Iroquois nation, unless the Oneidas dwelt near them on the St. Lawrence. The Eries were near of kin to their neighbors, the Senecas.

This difference occasionally appears in their history. The League was first established to prevent hostilities, and these were imminent between the Mohawks and Senecas in 1656. The former had killed a Seneca chief, but the French averted the war. At this time the Mohawks asked an asylum for their women and children of the Dutch, in case the Senecas attacked them. The Susquehannas, who wore heads of bears and wolves as ornaments, were claimed as kindred by the Mohawks, but the Cayugas and Senecas wished to destroy them.

When the three upper nations sent an embassy to Quebec in 1665, the ambassadors wished hostilities against the Mohawks suspended, as they had no notice of their coming, "with assurance that if they do not concur in the same treaty of peace, when he will have spoken to them, then those Upper Nations will abandon them."

Page 32. The Onondaga village, three miles from Buffalo, of which Big Sky was chief about 1800, was near the place called Kan-hai-ta-neek-ge, "Place of many streams;" in Onondaga, T'ke-hune-wah-ta-noon-ke.

Page 33. Fort Kawnesats is Conesus, where there is an earthwork.

Page 33. The account of the Erie war resembles, and yet differs from Blacksnake's story. Cusick mentions two wars, Blacksnake only one. He said that the Kah Kwahs had their principal residence at Eighteen Mile creek, south of Buffalo. This is called by the Senecas, Gah-gwah-geh, "Residence of the Kah Kwahs. Marshall thought these the Neutrals, and School-

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craft called them Eries. The general evidence seems in favor of the latter, as Cusick's certainly is. The Senecas were then living east of the Genesee river, as they were when first known to the whites.

The Kah Kwahs challenged them to play ball and other games, but the young Senecas were victorious in all. The Kah Kwahs became very much excited, and proposed a wrestling match, the vanquished to lose his head. Their champion paid the penalty, and the nations parted. Soon after two Seneca hunters, west of the Genesee, saw the Kah Kwahs marching upon their towns, and gave the alarm. They were met on the way, and the next day the battle took place. The young men, with peeled bark to tie the prisoners, were placed out of sight, in the rear, while the old warriors fought with varying fortunes. At last they were driven back, and the young Senecas turned the scale. The Kah-kwahs were driven down the Ohio.

The facts connected with the downfall of the Eries are quite different. August 9, 1654, news came to Onondaga, of "the massacre of three Iroquois warriors by the nation of the Cat, (Eries,) which took place about a day's journey from the latter. This amounts to a declaration of war." The next day Le Moyne had four messages, the Mohawks not being present, "for those Iroquois nations, a tomahawk to each, for their new war with the nation of the Cat." A twelfth message replaced "the lost head of the Senecas, (alluding to the capture of their chief by the Eries.)" Some of the Eries would have spared this chief, foreseeing what would happen, but a woman, on whom his fate depended, was deaf to all arguments. An Oneida chief "thanked Onnontio for having generously encouraged them to combat against their new enemies of the nation of the Cat." There are many points of interest in this short war, which entirely crushed the Eries the following year. The first chief baptised at Onondaga was one of the bravest leaders. An Erie boy was burned

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at Onondaga, in November, 1655, and Catharine, the Iroquois Saint, was of Erie birth.

Page 34. The Indians hunted the deer, which were abundant and easily taken. Beavers were little valued before the whites came, but soon rose in importance. Something like human reason was ascribed to them, as well as laws and rulers, through which lazy members were exiled. Their hard bones were supposed to injure the teeth of dogs, but others said that dogs were kept from them lest they should vex the beavers' spirits, and so affect the trapping. When the hunter killed a bear, its spirit was propitiated. In 1624, Father Le Caron wrote of the Canadian Indians, that "They have an insane superstition against profaning certain bones of elk, beaver, and other beasts, or letting their dogs gnaw them. They preserve them carefully, or throw them into a river. They pretend that the souls of these animals come to see how their bodies are treated, and go and tell the living beasts and those that are dead; so that if they are ill treated the beasts of the same kind will no longer allow themselves to be taken, either in this world or the next."

Neutral hunting customs were much like those of the Five Nations, but when game was enclosed they "have this maxim for all kinds of animals, whether they need them or not, that they must kill all they find, for fear, as they say, that if they do not take them the beasts would go and tell the others how they had been hunted, and that then, in the time of want, they would not find any more."

Elks were animals of good omen, but the bear was not always. Early traditions told of a giant elk, beside which all others were as ants in size. He had a court of elks faithfully serving him, and may have been the one mentioned by Cusick. Whether buffaloes were ever found in New York is still an open question, but the Iroquois claimed hunting grounds as far west as Illinois.

In their limited hunting and trapping some of the Onondagas still use their medicine. One will not break a muskrat's head,

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this having a bad effect on trapping. John Obadiah used to boil green osiers for an emetic, vomiting for several days; then the deer became so tame that he could almost catch them. A woman must not touch his gun. His early name was O-skon-tah, *Bark*, but at a Green Corn Dance this was changed to Neah-sa-kwa-ta, *Crane*.

Page 35. Few traces of Indian occupation are found in the New York wilderness, or about the sources of the Mohawk. On old maps this tract appears as "Coughsarage, or Dismal Wilderness;" sometimes as "Tyscharondia, where the Iroquois hunted Beaver." By Lake Piseco and some streams, are camps; and there is a small Indian fort on an island in Smith's lake.

Page 35. Except in the Erie war I remember no use of poisoned arrows in New York.

Page 35. In early days the rivers and lakes swarmed with fish, but they were mainly taken with the spear. Perhaps the Iroquois used hooks before the coming of the whites, yet but few have been found, and these are of bone or horn, suggesting a knowledge of the white man's hook, after which most of them are formed. The use of the spear naturally caused villages and camps to be located at or near rifts and shallow parts of rivers. At such places, too, stone-weirs were made, between the walls of which the fish were driven, and one very large one still remains in the Seneca river. The Hurons made hurdles, which brought the fish into their nets, and the Oneidas had annual fishing feasts in the spring. When all were assembled a row of stakes was placed across the stream, and woven with branches. Then the fish were driven down the creek, and another row of stakes was placed behind them. When this was done the spearing commenced, and the division of fish and the feast followed.

Spearing also took place at night, one Indian guiding the canoe, another feeding the fire, which was placed on a piece of bark covered with earth; a third wielded the spear. One of the Jesuits was told that fishermen, with a single hook, sometimes

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took a thousand eels in Onondaga lake in one night. Charlevoix said that between Quebec and Three Rivers "a prodigious quantity of large eels are caught in the river, which eels come down from Lake Ontario, where they are bred in the marshes on the north side of the lake." When the French colony was passing up Oswego river in 1656, they took, near Oswego Falls, "thirty-four salmon, spearing them with their swords, and striking them with their oars. They were so numerous that we could strike them without difficulty."

All the Iroquois used nets, and flat sinkers are found at most fishing places, though the same flat stones were undoubtedly also used as quoits. In some parts a native hemp furnished twine and ropes, as among the Mohawks. The inner bark of the basswood also served for thread, and this may have been what Charlevoix called thread made from whitewood. Nets were often long, and drawn like a seine. Charlevoix mentions a curious Huron custom. "They also fish with the bosom net, and prepare themselves for it by a ceremony singular enough. Before they use this net they marry it to two girls who are virgins, and during the marriage feast, place it between the two brides; they afterwards exhort it to catch plenty of fish, and believe they do a great deal to obtain this favor, by making presents to the sham fathers-in-law."

Page 35. Albert Cusick gave me the following Onondaga names of months. He had them from John Jacobs, an Old Onondaga, whose Indian name is Ke-nent-too-te, "Hemlock sticking up." The White Dog Feast, in January or February, is the beginning of the religious year, and on our New Year's day the Onondagas go from house to house, wishing one another "New Yah," and receiving cakes, but in another way the year begins in the fall, when they formerly went out to hunt. In this arrangement October is Chuthowaah, *little cold;* November, Chuthowagonah, *large cold;* December, Tisah, *little long day*, (*i. e.*, not very long;) January, Tisgonah, *longer day;* February, Kanatoha,

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winter leaves fall, (i. e., those which have clung to the trees;) March, Kanatogonah, *winter leaves fall and fill up the large holes.* That is, the high March winds blow all the leaves into the hollows in the woods. April, Esutah, *warm and good days*, but not planting time; May, Oyeayegonah, *leaves in full size and strawberries ripe;* June, Seskahah, *sun goes for long days;* July, Seskagonah, *sun goes for longer days.* This means the longest day, but the limits of the last three months are not defined exactly as with us. August, Kentenah, *deer sheds its hair;* September, Kentenahgonah, *deer in its natural fur.* An intercalary month is used when necessary. *Gonah* means something greater.

At the same time I had a list of the present days of the week. Sunday, Ahwentahtokente, *holy day;* Monday, Ahwentahtentahee, *holy day over;* Tuesday, Tekenwahtontah, *second one*, (*i. e.*, after Sunday,) Wednesday, Tawentoken, *between the days*, or the middle of the week; Thursday, Kahyeayewahtontah, *fourth one;* Friday, Wickswahtontah, *fifth one;* Saturday, Entucktah, *near the (holy) day.* Five is *wisk* with some, and *wicks* with others. A Quaker family taught among the Onondagas about seventy years ago, and the numerical names may thus have taken form.

Zeisberger enumerated the Delaware months, which, being further south, are quite different, but Dr. C. C. Abbott finds them appropriate. January, Anixi, *ground squirrel month;* February, Schgalle, *frog month;* March, Chawme gischuch, *shad month.* He does not give the next three months, but in Loskiel, April is *planting time;* May, *time for hoeing corn;* June, *deer become red;* July, *hilling corn;* August, *corn in milk;* September, *autumn;* October, *harvest;* November, *hunting;* December, *bucks cast their horns.* Zeisberger gives part of these. July, Nipeni, *summer;* August, Winaminge, *harvest;* December, Lowanni gischuch, *north month.*

The months are lunar. In Wassenaer's account of New Netherlands, 1621–1632, he says of some of the Indians, "The names of their months are these: *Cuerano*, the first with them, February;

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2. *Weer-heniska:* 3. *Heemskan:* 4. *Oneratacka:* 5. *Oneratack,* then men begin to sow and to plant; 6. *Hagarert:* 7. *Iakouvaratta:* 8. *Hatterhonagat:* 9. *Genhendasta:* then the grain and everything is ripe: 10. *Digojenjattha,* then is the seed housed. Of January and December they take no note, being of no use to them." Part of these seem Iroquois names.

Page 35. The Pleiades were called the *Dancers,* and Cusick may allude to these. Most Indians gave the Great Bear the same name that we do, and called the north star, *the star without motion.* In eclipses they used to imagine there was war in heaven, and shot arrows in the air to help the sun or moon, but the Hurons thought the moon was ill, during an eclipse, and made loud noises, with many ceremonies and prayers. Dogs were stoned and beaten, because their howlings were acceptable to the moon.

Page 35. Cusick gives an extravagant estimate of the Iroquois strength. Morgan thought they were most numerous in 1650, and called their numbers then about 25,000. Those who are familiar with the traces of their forts and villages will consider this quite high enough, and in 1677, Greenhalgh, who visited most of their towns, allowed them 2,150 warriors, which would not give a population of over 10,000. Continual wars destroyed their warriors rapidly, but these were partially replaced by the adoption of captives.

With all their bravery they only maintained their own ground until the Dutch came, but then gunpowder gave them a great advantage which they freely used. It is described in the Journal of New Netherland, 1641–46, in relating what had happened at an early day. The Albany people "perceiving that the Mohawks were craving for guns, which some of them had already received from the English, paying for each as many as twenty beavers, and for a pound of powder as many as ten to twelve guilders, came down in greater numbers than usual where guns were plenty, purchasing them at a fair price, realizing in this way considerable

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profit. * * * * The Mohawks in a short time were seen with firelocks; powder and lead in proportion. Four hundred armed men knew how to make use of their advantage, especially against their enemies dwelling along the River of Canada, against whom they now achieved many profitable forays, where before they had but little advantage; this caused them also to be respected by the surrounding nations even as far as the sea coast, who must generally pay them tribute, whereas, on the contrary, they were formerly obliged to contribute to these."

They became excellent marksmen, and had this advantage, that guns were refused to other Indians. This gave them an easy supremacy. In writing of names and national emblems, in 1771, Sir William Johnson said, the "Mohawks have a steel, called Cannia, thence Canniungaes" was their proper name. Another writer, in 1736, said their device was a flint and steel. They may have obtained this from Cartier, at Montreal, in 1535.

Page 35. In 1654 the Mohawks were very indignant because the French went to Onondaga by way of Lake Ontario, alleging that they should have passed through the eastern door, which they guarded. All were jealous of national etiquette, and both French and English were accustomed to salute ambassadors with a discharge of five cannon, one for each of the Five Nations. There was a good deal of mutual jealousy. When the French colony was on its way to Onondaga, in 1656, the Hurons in their company were bound and gagged by a party of Mohawks, and the Onondagas ill treated. "The fear of provoking a war with the Onondagas * * * obliged them to render proper excuses." The Mohawks and Oneidas were near of kin, and the same year the Onondaga chiefs came to the French to warn them not to trust the Oneidas, for they were "fraudulent in actions, and deceitful in words." This was the year in which the Mohawks and Senecas were nearly at war, the Cayugas sympathizing with the latter.

Page 36. Meetings of the Grand Council at Onondaga were

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often of much interest, but were not open for business until certain ceremonies had been performed. Most important of these was the covering of the graves of the dead. Presents wiped away all tears, restored speech, and dried up any blood that might have fallen on the council mat. Other things were added later. Thorns were taken out of the path, clouds removed from the sky, the covenant chain brightened. Under Sir William Johnson new features appeared. One of these, apparently a western custom, was that of sweeping the hearth with the wing of a bird, generally white. Loskiel says, "Formerly they used to give sanction to their treaties by delivering a wing of some large bird; and this custom still prevails among the more western nations in transacting business with the Delawares." It was first mentioned in New York in 1753. Sometimes a fan was used after this. In 1765 another ceremony was added, which came from the Delawares. The bones of the dead were symbolically collected and placed under a great pine tree, that they might never appear again. With these were other customary ceremonies.

It is curious how many conflicting things had the reputation of custom. In 1654 Le Moyne met the Grand Council early in the day. The next year the French attended at various hours. In 1756 it was recorded that Iroquois councils are always held at night. When Kirkland visited Onondaga in 1764, they said that an important message could only be received in the light of day, and the council met at 10 o'clock in the morning.

Ambassadors did not enter a town at once, and many instances could be given of their reception at some distance. That of Kirkland at Kanadesaga, near Geneva, in 1764, best illustrates Hiawatha's reception by the Mohawks. The missionary says, "According to Indian custom, we halted at the skirts of the town, sat down upon a log to rest, and lighted our pipes. Presently a runner was despatched from the town, and came in full speed to us, and asked us whence we came, and where we were going, and

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what was our desire. One of our convoy answered, 'We are only bound to this place, and wish to be conducted to the house of the chief sachem.' He then told us to follow him, and we soon entered the chief sachem's house, and were cordially received."

That changes should occur is not remarkable, but too great stress has been laid on tradition and continuous custom. For any good reason a change was made, and the words of Sir William Johnson, in 1771, seem true of those whom he knew so well. "The Indians near the white settlements, relying solely on oral traditions for the support of their ancient usages, have lost great part of them, and have blended some with customs among ourselves." Similar changes had occurred, he said, farther off, especially where the Jesuits had been. It is easy to show that he, himself, added a great deal to Iroquois ceremonies.

Page 36. The Agouhanna of Cartier's Canadian voyages, being the lord and king of the country, seems equivalent to this title of Aukoyaner, with the same meaning. The latter is Mohawk. In Onondaga it is Ah-go-yan-he, but the office is found in all the clans, not in the Turtle alone.

Page 36. Stone pestles abound in Onondaga county and elsewhere, but generally belonged to an earlier people. The Onondagas themselves still use wooden mortars, about two feet high, and a wooden pestle, four feet long, the handle being in the middle. A small amount of parched and pounded corn will last a great while. The Onondagas, however, raise a soft white corn, which they esteem highly, and which they think can be prepared only by pounding. For bread it is mixed with beans. They are very ingenious in wood-work of all kinds, and weave baskets which will hold water.

Page 36. Capt. John Smith may have meant the Tuscaroras by the Kuscarawaokes, a southern tribe. His account of the Massawomekes is clearly that of a people related to the Iroquois, but there are good reasons for placing them even south of the

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Eries. It is true that either the Senecas or Eries could have gone down the Allegany, and reached the Potomac by a short portage. Of the two the latter were most likely to do this, and the Eries themselves included more than one nation. Still there are Iroquoian traces near the upper waters of the Potomac, that may belong to the Massawomekes.

Smith's account of this people is of interest, and may well be given. In July, 1608, he ascended Chesapeake Bay, revisiting several places. "Soon after that, when crossing the bay, we encountered seven or eight canoes full of Massawomeks. Seeing that they were preparing to attack us, we left off rowing, and made way with our sail to encounter them: not that I particularly wished to do so, if I could avoid it, for there were but four of us, besides myself, who could stand; for, two days after we left Kecoughton, the rest were sick almost to death, until they got seasoned to the country. Hiding them under our tarpauling, we put their hats upon sticks by the barge's side, and betwixt two hats, a man with two guns, and I fancy the Indians did take those hats to be men, for they fled with all possible speed to the shore, and there stayed, staring at the sailing of our barge, till we anchored right against them. It was long ere we could draw them to come unto us, but at last they sent two of their number, unarmed, in a canoe, and the rest followed, to help them, if they needed it. I gave to each of these two a belt, and they were so delighted that they soon brought their fellows on board, who presented me with venison, bears' flesh, fish, bows, arrows, clubs, targets and bears' skins. We could not understand a word they spoke, but by signs, they signified unto us that they had been at war with the Tockwoghes, which they confirmed by showing us their wounds, which were quite recent. They went away at nightfall, leaving us under the impression that they would come again on the morrow morning; but after that we never saw them."

The targets were "made of small sticks, interwoven with strings of their hemp and silk grass," arrow-proof, and such as

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were used by the Iroquois at that time. Similar to this was the "arrow-proof armor woven of cotton thread and wood," worn by the Mohawk chiefs killed by Champlain the next year, on Lake Champlain.

Possession of these articles gave Smith great reputation among the Tockwoghes, for they thought them trophies from their dreaded enemies, and he was well received. "We saw among these people many knives, hatchets, and pieces of brass, which they said they had from the Sasquesahanocks, a mighty people, and mortal enemies to the Massawomeks. I asked them to prevail on some of these Indians to pay me a visit, and in about three or four days' time sixty of these giant like people came, bringing with them presents of venison, tobacco pipes three feet in length, baskets, targets, and bows and arrows."

Elsewhere he speaks of the neat bark canoes of the Massawomekes. The Susquehannocks, called Andastes by the Iroquois, wore heads of wolves and bears as ornaments, and had immense pipes. They had "600 able and mighty men, all palisaded in their towns to defend them from the Massawomekes, their mortal enemies." These were of Iroquoian stock, and were claimed as near kindred by the Mohawks. An earthwork near Waverly, N. Y., has been considered their stronghold, but most of them lived farther south. It has been thought by some that the Massawomekes were New York Iroquois, as they certainly belonged to that family. Language, canoes, and targets, are among the proofs.

In "The Founders of Maryland," by the Rev. E. D. Neill, there is published Fleet's journal of 1632. He sailed up the Potomac as far as possible, and his brother went farther north. It has been thought that he visited the Eries and Senecas, and that these were the Massawomekes. The time seems too short for him to have done this. He was seven days in going to the Massomacks, from near Washington, and five in returning. He may have reached southern villages of the Eries, and he reported

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them as having towns palisaded "with great trees, and with scaffolds upon the walls." He said they had four kings or chiefs, thus indicating four nations. On linguistic grounds Mr. Gatschet thought one of these the Senecas, while the other three might have been Eries, then in alliance with them.

The stories which were told Smith tend to identify these formidable savages with the Eries. He said, "Beyond the mountains, from whence is the head of the river Patawomeke (Potomac) the Salvages report, inhabit their most mortal enemies, the Massawomekes, upon a great salt water, which, by all likelihood, is either some part of Canada, some great lake, or some inlet of some sea that falleth into the South Sea. These Massawomekes are a great nation, and very populous." The Indians of Virginia feared them greatly. On the map published with the 1629 edition of Smith's travels, they are placed on the south shore of a supposed sheet of water, about seventy-five miles northwesterly of the headwaters of the Potomac. Mr. Albert S. Gatschet reasonably interprets their name as meaning "those on a great water."

Fleet met also a "few Hereckenes, who are cannibals." These sold their beaver in Canada, and had iron axes, which they bought of Kirk, in Quebec. They were much farther eastward than the two he mentioned, and were probably some of the eastern Iroquois. It is proper to remember that early in the seventeenth century the Senecas were hardly classed as Iroquois. Champlain's map and description, in 1632, distinguished them, the latter saying "The Yroquois and the Antouhonorans make war together against all the other nations, except the Neutral nation. Carantouanis is a nation to the south of the Antouhonorons," and was another name for the Andastes, or Susquehannas.

At a later day the Five Nations often saw the Tuscaroras in their southern expeditions. Governor Keith wrote to the Governor of New York, that the Five Nations "were actually in these parts, assisting the Tuscaroras," in 1712 and 1713.

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They lived on the Neuse and Tar rivers in North Carolina, and rose against the colonist in 1711, but were totally defeated the next year. In 1714 they were received as the sixth nation of the Iroquois confederacy, but in a subordinate way. Other nations were afterwards admitted, but never had any name or standing in the League. Some Tuscaroras came north in 1766, but a few remained near the Roanoke river as late as 1803. They were assigned homes among the Oneidas, where they had several villages, and gradually transferred some of these to the Susquehanna river. Their language differs so much from that of the Five Nations, although radically the same, that an interpreter is employed. I have heard an Onondaga interpret the speech of his Tuscarora father. David Cusick uses few Tuscarora names. In the Oneida territory Canaseraga was the Tuscarora castle, and a creek flowing into Oneida lake was called Tuscarora creek.

In 1714 the Five Nations notified the English that the Tuscaroras had come to them. "They were of us, and went out from us long ago, and are now returned, and promise to live peaceably among us."

Page 37. The Oyatoh were the Cherokees, called by the Senecas, Oyadagaono, "People who dwell in caves." The Onondagas call them now, T'kwen-tah-e-u-ha-ne, "People of a beautiful red color." This seems equivalent to the Kwentariroraunuh, of Cusick. The Kawedas were the Cowetas, in Georgia. A large part of the Onondaga Eels were once taken by the Cherokees. Their friends recaptured most of them, and the Cherokee prisoners were adopted by the Eels. It thus happens that the present Atotarho, being an Eel, is of Cherokee blood.

On Mitchell's map, 1755, the "Tionontatecagas, Dwellers in caves," appear in the southern Apalachian mountain ranges. Albert Cusick interpreted this for me as burning or smoking mountains, and thought it might refer to the smoke from the mountain caves. This name may be compared with the Tionon-

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taties, or Tobacco Nation of Canada, who also lived on hills near the Nottawasaga river, where they raised tobacco.

Page 37. While the Atotarho was always an Onondaga, it has been denied that the Mohawks furnished the great war chief. Morgan claims that there were two such hereditary chiefs, who were always Senecas. On the other hand it is certain that the Seneca chiefs were not as prominent as leaders as several in other nations, and that others sought or held the office.

Page 37. The great earthquake in Canada occurred in 1663, and excited great fear. When Charlevoix ascended the St. Lawrence in 1720, he spoke of the rapid current of the Saguenay at its mouth, and of the effect of this at Checoutimi, 25 French leagues up that river, "This rapidity has besides come to the pitch in which we now see it, only since the earthquake in 1663. This earthquake overturned a mountain, and threw it into the river, which confined its channel, forming a peninsula called Checoutimi, beyond which is a rapid stream impassable even to canoes."

Page 37. The tree of peace was often alluded to in early councils, and yet mainly in connection with treaties with the French and English. Similarly the Great Peace, sometimes applied to the League, has the same wide application.

Page 37. The war with the Mohegans was mainly carried on by the Mohawks, when the Dutch ascended the River Hudson. The Mohegans occupied its banks, and the Mohawk villages were no nearer than Schoharie creek. The Dutch at first took sides with the Mohegans and were defeated, but afterwards were friends of their opponents. The Mohegans made their last invasion in August, 1669, unsuccessfully attacking a Mohawk town. The Oneidas and Onondagas joined the Mohawks and invaded the Mohegan country in return, with even smaller results, but it led to peace. The Mohegans were called Loups, or Wolves, this being the meaning of their name. They were of Algonquin stock, and kindred to the Delawares.

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Page 38. The Erie war has been described, but it lasted only a year, when the nation disappeared from history. According to one story they fled down the Allegany river, pursued by the Senecas, who found them encamped on an island in far superior numbers. The Senecas landed on the lower side of a narrow peninsula, carried their canoes across and launched them again in the stream above. Thus their force seemed to continually increase, and in the morning the Eries had forever disappeared. The Jesuits said that the Iroquois destroyed 2,000 Erie warriors in their own intrenchments.

General Notes.

When Cartier sailed up the St. Lawrence in 1535, there were scattered bands of the Huron-Iroquois almost to its mouth. One fishing party which he met, had nets of native hemp, like those of the New York Indians, a clear evidence of their early use. Although the river was called after Hochelaga, the principal Iroquois town at Montreal, the land of Canada properly began but little below Quebec. The sudden contraction of the stream there gave it its Algonquin name of Quebeio, or Quebec. meaning a strait, or narrowing. In the Abenaquis' dialect it is Quelibec, "shut up," from a peculiarity in their approach to it. At that time the Iroquois and Algonquins were friends, the traditional rupture having not yet taken place. This may be the reason why the names of the Indians whom Cartier first carried to France, belonged to both these families, and this also may ac-

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count for the fact, mentioned by Charlevoix, that Cartier's, Saghard's, and La Hontan's vocabularies were unreliable. He said, "These three authors took at random a few words, some from the Hurons, and others from the Algonquin tongues, which they very ill remembered, and which often signified something very different from what they imagined."

Charlevoix credits the prevalent tradition, that the Iroquois lived on the St. Lawrence, going to New York after the breach with the Algonquins. He said, "I don't pretend to vouch for this historical piece, though I have it from pretty good hands."

He gives, also, a tradition of Hochelaga. According to this the Onnont-charonnons, or Iroquet nation, lived there, and were at war with the Algonquins, who drew them into an ambush, not a man escaping. From this blow they never recovered, but Charlevoix adds, "It is pretended that the Hurons were they who drove them from their ancient residence, and who have even in part destroyed them." Others give some particulars of the destruction of the town. These may have been incidents of the war, but Charlevoix evidently discredited them, saying, "The sole point of their history which has come down clothed with any degree of probability, is the origin of the war, which Mons. Champlain found kindled between the Iroquois on one side, and the Hurons and Algonquins on the other."

As Governor Burnett quoted this account from De la Potherie, Colden may have done the same. Potherie was in Canada for several years previous to 1700, and published his book in 1722. Both French writers may have had the tale from Nicholas Perrot, who lived among the Indians from 1665 to 1696, and who said the Iroquois lived at Montreal and Three Rivers until they fled from the Algonquins. After fighting against the Shawnees on Lake Erie, they settled on the south side of Lake Ontario.

The Huron war, in which the Algonquins shared, caused the depopulation of a large region, all outlying villages being abandoned. Those who went with Champlain against the Mohawks

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in 1609, told him that Vermont mostly belonged to that nation, and that the islands in Lake Champlain were inhabited before the war. Not a cabin was then to be seen between the St. Lawrence and the Mohawk valley. A few years passed, and the Iroquois laid waste the most populous districts. For a time Canada had hardly any Indian population left east of Lake Huron. Pennsylvania suffered in a similar way. The terrible story is well known, for the Five Nations were the most relentless foes the others ever had.

On the authority of a recent Ojibway historian, it has been claimed that the Mohawks made a treaty with the Ojibways at the Sault Ste. Marie, centuries before this, but George Copway, also a chief, places it after the Huron overthrow, where it properly belongs. Even in his account the battles are greatly exaggerated. He calls those engaged in these treaties and skirmishes, Mohawks, but they were mostly of the other nations. The once arrogant Hurons came humbly to the Ojibways, or Chippewas, and they afforded them refuge after their defeat. Skirmishes and treaties followed between these and the Iroquois, ending in a lasting treaty, the result being that the Ojibways gained a foothold in the vacant Huron territory. Those called Mississaugas settled on the north side of Lake Ontario, and even had villages in New York. On Mitchell's map of 1755, they are placed near Seneca lake, with the note, "removed hereabouts."

The facts are all against an early, rather than a recent treaty between the Iroquois and Ojibways. No credence can be given to extended Indian estimates of time, and there is no reason to think the Iroquois ever met the western Indians until the Hurons were conquered. The Eries, Neutrals, Hurons and Ottawas lay directly in the way. This great barrier removed, the war and hunting parties of the Iroquois went westward as they pleased, and then for the first time reached the vicinity of Lake Superior, less than 250 years ago.

It is curious to observe the effect of the great Canadian war

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upon the situation of villages. Allusion has been made to the withdrawal and concentration of Huron towns. In New York the war affected the homes of the Cayugas and Senecas very little. The Eries were their kindred and friends, and the Neutrals, maintaining peace, were a wall between them and the Hurons, but their slight knowledge of canoes would have made them of little account had they been hostile. Two of the Five Nations thus passed through the war in absolute security. Those to the east had to be more on their guard. Nothing but the wilderness lay between them and their foes, and therefore they placed their towns, for a time, in secluded situations. I have good reasons for supposing the town attacked by Champlain, in 1615, to have been that of the Oneidas. It certainly was, if the one usually identified with it. In any case it was far from any navigable water, high up among the hills. The Onondaga town of the same period, was also far up a long valley, in a strong position, but one which was changed, after Champlain's invasion, for another still farther south, and with a better outlook. As the war went on successfully, and they lost fear, the Onondaga towns were pushed northward, down the valley, towards the open country, until the principal village was at Indian Hill, when the French first visited them in 1654. Thence they went to a place just east of the reservoir near Jamesville, where their fort and town were burned in 1696; removing next to the east side of Onondaga Valley, and gradually crossing to the west. When Conrad Weiser was there in 1750, he lodged as usual, "in a house which now stood by itself, the rest of the Onondargers having moved over the creek, some a mile, two miles, three miles off." Sir William Johnson built them a fort on the west side, in 1756, half a mile south of the village of Onondaga Valley. Its stone graded way yet remains, with the cross ditch. The Indian custom was to move the villages when wood failed, so that this occurred frequently, and the number of sites is no index of population.

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Similar changes the Mohawks made. About A. D. 1600, they had but two villages; one of these being ten miles north of the Mohawk; the other four miles south of that river. As they gained confidence and strength they drew nearer the stream, and at last built their towns on its banks. It is interesting to go from one early town to another, and see how their fears abated, as the war went on, and their villages increased. As with the others, a large proportion of the captives were adopted, and made Iroquois perforce.

The eastern Iroquois had not the noted Feast of the Dead, so graphically described among the Hurons. There are ossuaries in Jefferson county, N. Y., but in no great numbers. Elsewhere in New York, they are scarcely found east of the Cayuga territory, and but sparingly there, while they increase in number in the western part of the State. If early writers ever ascribe this practice to the Iroquois, it must be understood of the Cayugas and Senecas, but it could scarcely have been a recent custom among them. It is usual to speak of the meeting after the Mohegan attack upon the Mohawks, in 1669, as a Dead Feast, but it was really a condolence, somewhat different from recent ones. It had as little to do with burial as the present Dead Feast, which is a gathering of women. John Buck, wampum keeper of the Six Nations in Canada, describes one of another kind, which reads like a modern seance. His relation is curious and graphic, and was sent to Hon. George S. Conover, of Geneva, N. Y. The letter was his messenger, and a string of wampum gave it official sanction.

"I am John Buck's messenger. Therefore listen. John Buck says in olden times of my forefathers was able to recall their departed relatives to see them again, the living ones will make one accord whatever the number they may be will get a feast at a certain house for the dead ones, and when the living ones will assemble at the appointed place each of them will take a sliver off the bark door where it turns, this at their different one's

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houses, and enter noiselessly in the house where the feast is spread out for the dead, and they will now all set down next to the wall of the house on the ground all round the house, and the feast is spread out in the centre of the house, and one is appointed as a speaker to address the Great Creator at intervals he would throw an Indian Tobacco on the fire, he will ask the Creator to send their dead relatives, for they are desirous to see them again, and when he ends it, his speaking, he will sit down again, and they will let the fire go down till the light ceases, so that in the house becomes dark and no one is allowed to speak or to make any noise, and in a little while they will have people coming outside, and they will enter the house and will set themselves around the spread feast, and the assembled living ones will wait till the dead ones are about done eating, then the living ones will kindle the slivers of bark which they have brought with them, and the dead are now seen through this light. Here is the string of wampum.

"So dear friend according what I have learned by of your letter which you sent and I have received, therefore I have wrote to you now of the above. I am your friend,

Chief JOHN BUCK.

Fire keeper of Six Nations of Indians, Canada."

It was a prevalent idea that the dead liked the good food of this world, and this was often placed on graves. If it disappeared,—and the dogs took care of that,—it was supposed to be eaten by the dead. Among the Onondagas both species of *Dicentra*, (squirrel corn) are known as Hah ska-nah-ho-ne-hah, "Ghost corn," or food for ghosts. The Hurons thought the soul lingered near the body until the Feast of the Dead, and something of this belief may remain among the Iroquois still. In general they held to a place far westward, the way to which was beset with difficulties, and where there were separate abodes for the good and bad. Atahenstic rules the evil place, and Jouskeka the happy home. Some of their stories are much like those of the Greeks and Romans.

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Spirits might do them harm, especially those of the captives whom they had burned. When Greenhalgh visited the Senecas, in 1677, he saw a frequent custom after tortures. Speaking of the captives, he wrote, "This day was burnt two women and a man, and a child killed with a stone. Att night we heard a great noise as if ye houses had all fallen, butt itt was onely ye Inhabitants driving away ye ghosts of ye murthered." Burning of women was rather a marked feature among the Iroquois, though they otherwise treated their female captives fairly well.

In some respects the Huron and Iroquois customs at death were much alike. Death was expected, and where it was certain, preparations were made for it, the burial clothes being sometimes put on before death. When Garacontie died at Onondaga, in 1676, he invited the sachems and chiefs to his death banquet, at which he made his parting address. This was a frequent thing. Among the Hurons interment was usually made on the third day, and often in a scaffold tomb. This kept in view the final interment at the great feast of the dead. I know of no such custom at Onondaga. The Hurons buried at once those who had been drowned, or slain in battle. They also thought that under certain circumstances children could be born a second time. The great mourning lasted ten days, with many signs of grief; the lesser continued for a year.

The great Feast of the Dead, among the Hurons, came every ten or twelve years, but was known as the Feast of the Kettle, good living being a feature of the occasion. To hasten the feast, they spoke of stirring up the fire under the kettle; and when the kettle was said to be overturned, it meant that there would be no feast. When the time was appointed, each family bore its own dead from the place of burial, and when the graves were opened all the bodies were left awhile on the ground, to be seen by the friends. Then they were covered with new beaver robes, and carried to the houses, where each family had a feast for its own dead. The bones were called Atisken, "the souls," each man

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having two souls. One left the body at death, but remained near until the great feast; then it either became a turtle-dove, or went to the village of souls. The other was attached to the body, never leaving it unless it revived as a new born child. This is why the bones of the dead were called "the souls."

Before leaving the town for the great feast in the principal village, all the bodies were carried to the largest cabin, and a feast was held there. At the close of this all imitated the cry of the spirits, which is *ha-e-e, ha-e*, and this was repeated all the way to the principal village, the journey being by short stages of about three miles a day. In 1636, Father Brebeuf said that the dead of eight or nine villages were taken to Os-sos-sa-ne, and he was lodged "in a cabin where there were at least a hundred skeletons hung up to the poles, some of which smelled stronger than musk." For several days games and distributions of gifts occupied the time, but at last the procession was formed, the men leading, and the women following. The grave was about ten feet deep, and thirty across, with a scaffold around it, having poles on which to hang the bundles of bones. Part of these were lowered into the pit about sundown, being arranged by men at the bottom. But few of the gifts were placed in the grave, and these were not all serviceable. The mourners feasted there that night, that the work might be completed next morning, but an accident about daybreak hastened this, and caused a terrible sight. This is the origin of the ossuaries, of which there are about 150 known in Canada, mostly recent. In New York they are comparatively rare.

Some touching features will be found in early accounts of Iroquois deaths and funerals, but these also changed greatly, until burial became somewhat hasty, and with but little show of feeling. A New York Indian cemetery of the present day has nothing to indicate love for the dead, and funerals are of the simplest character.

In the relation of 1670, is a curious and pathetic incident.

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Father Fremin had baptized a young Seneca woman in 1669, who afterwards died. He tried to comfort the mother, who said, "Thou dost not understand. She was a mistress here, and had at her command more than twenty slaves, who are still with me. She never knew what it was to go to the forests to bring wood, or to the river to draw water. She knew nothing about housekeeping." So her mother was troubled as to her state in Paradise, where none of her family had gone. She wanted a sick slave instructed and baptized, that she might go there and take care of her daughter. This shows how rich some Iroquois were, and that they did hold slaves, though Colden said they did not.

Albert Cusick suggested to me that the girl might be one of the *hidden persons*. The old people tell of those called Ta-neh-u-weh-too, *Hidden in the husks*, like an ear of corn. They were said to be covered in the husk, if kept from the sight of all, and were thus pure from birth, being at once hidden by the mother. If a boy and girl were thus preserved, they might marry each other at a suitable age.

The Iroquois of two hundred years ago saw much more than his descendant of to-day. The forests were full of spirits, good and bad, and these he was careful to propitiate. Tobacco was the customary offering, and is supposed to bring good fortune still. The lower animals were related to him, and these must be pleased, even if he slew and fed upon them. Of the higher divinities the accounts are as confused as among early nations of the old world, but each man suited himself, as long as he kept the prescribed feasts. He had his own guardian spirit, and this seemed more important than the Holder of the Heavens.

The belief in fairies is not very conspicuous, but everywhere prevails, and these had their favorite places of resort. Those of the Onondagas live in a ravine just west of the village of Onondaga Valley, and are called Che-kah-a-hen-wah, or "Little people." The Tuscaroras term them Ehn-kwa-si-yea, "No men at all;" meaning something besides men. The Mohawks call

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them Yah-ko nen us-yoks, "Stone throwers," and to this an old story may relate, of an incident on Lake Champlain. It is contained in the Relation of 1668. Fathers Fremin, Pierron, and Bruyas were on their way to the Mohawks in July, 1667. When a little north of Ticonderoga, they said, "We halted, without knowing why until we observed our savages gathering from the shore pieces of flint, nearly all cut in shape. We did not give this any thought at the time, but afterwards learned the mystery, since our Iroquois told us that they never failed to stop at this place to pay homage to a nation of invisible men, who dwelt here under the water, and are occupied in preparing flints, all but ready for use for the passers-by, provided that they in turn meet their obligations by making them an offering of tobacco; if they give much, there comes in return a great abundance of these flints. These watermen go in the canoe, like the Iroquois, and when the leader comes to throw himself into the water to enter his palace, he makes such a noise that it fills with terror those who have no knowledge of this great genius and his diminutive men." The missionaries accounted naturally for the supply, for "when the wind comes from across the lake, it casts upon the shore quantities of flint ready to strike fire."

This seems to have some relation to the story told by Colden in speaking of the drowning of Corlaer, whose name the Indians gave to Lake Champlain. It may be noted that Split Rock marked the northern boundary of the Mohawks, and was called by them Regiohne, after Rogeo, one of their chiefs who was drowned there. "There is a rock in this lake, on which the waves dash and fly up to a great height, when the wind blows hard; the Indians believe that an old Indian lives under the rock, who has the power of the winds; and therefore, all that pass it in their voyages over, they always throw a pipe, or some other small present to the old Indian, or pray for a favorable wind. The English that pass sometimes laugh at this, but they are sure to be told of Corlaer's death," who wantonly ridiculed it.

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While this rock was called after the Mohawk chief, some late writers have interpreted Rotsiichni, another name of the lake, as "the coward spirit." This interpretation may have come from the legend.

The Onondaga fairies did not often appear, but quietly helped the people in Robin Goodfellow fashion. In the ravine is an exposed and precipitous bank of bowlder clay, which they have worn smooth in sliding down. They liked the bounce when they went over a projecting stone.

Cartier was the first white man who came in contact with any of the Huron Iroquois family, and his voyage up the St. Lawrence was full of interest. The grotesque demons brought out to terrify him, were not very different from the False Faces which John Bartram saw at Onondaga a century and a half ago, and which appear there now. The ceremonious meeting aud welcome at a distance from the walls of Hochelaga, are often found in history, and yet imitated in the condolence ceremonies. The bark receptacles for their provisions were found by the French, more than a century later, among the Mohawks; and still later, some of unusual size were mistaken by them for towers, as they advanced to assault a Seneca town. Other points of resemblance appear. While his description of the triple stockade is much like that of N. Y. Iroquois forts, heaps of stones have been found within the lines of these, gathered for ammunition.

His description of their beads, generally supposed to have been of shell, has puzzled many. They may have been of other material, but his account is quoted. "The thing most precious that they have in all the world they call Esurgny; which is white and which they take in the said river in Cornibots, in the man-

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ner following. When any one hath deserved death, or that they take any of their enemies in warres, first they kill him, then with certain knives they give great slashes and strokes upon their buttocks, flankes, thighes and shoulders; then they cast the same bodie so mangled downe to the bottome of the river, in a place where the said Esurgny is, and there leave it ten or twelve houres, then they take it up againe, and in the cuts find the said esurgny or cornibots. Of them they make beads, and use them even as we doe gold and silver, accounting it the preciousest thing in the world. They have this vertue in them, they will stop or stanch bleeding at the nose, for we proved it."

The story seems absurd, for bodies of any kind would have served as well as those of men. Charlevoix said that no shells were there, in his time, capable of stopping bleeding. Sir J. W. Dawson supposed they were "some of our species of *Melania* or *Paludina*." Both these are vegetable feeding water snails, however, and of course would not be taken in this way; neither would they need to be, for both live close to the shore; the former abounding on stones, and the latter in mud. Neither of them are white, but the former would make fair beads. Mr. Dawson also adds that "That the wampum of the Iroquois, and also of the Hochelagans, was made of freshwater univalves, probably the *Melania*. They also ground into perforated discs for beads, the pearly shells of fresh water Unios." I never yet have found a perforated Melania, (*Goniobasis*,) and never have known of one. Mr. Dawson informs me that there are none at Montreal. In New York I have found but one disk Unio bead, though they occur in the West. Mr. Dawson gives a figure of a smaller one from Montreal, the only one he obtained

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there. Mr. S. L. Frey, of Palatine Bridge, N. Y., has a similar one from the earliest Mohawk village. These three are sufficient to prove their manufacture, but in a very sparing way. For reasons like these I think the Esurgny of other material.

I simply hazard the conjecture that they might have been the eyestones of the common fresh water crayfish. The puzzling word "cornibots," suggesting horns, might have been a provincial name by which Cartier knew these small crustaceans, but we can only surmise this. Coarser shell beads the Canadian Indians seem to have had at an early day, to a limited extent, and in the Iroquois territory they were known, but were very rare. Stone and clay beads sometimes occur.

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Iroquois Notes.

INDIAN FASHIONS.

WE know that there are savage fashions, but forget that these have changes. The woven armor which the Mohawk chiefs wore, when Champlain first met them, naturally disappeared as firearms came into use. Bows and arrows partially gave way to guns, and where these were retained, copper and iron arrow-heads took the place of flint, horn, and bone. Brass kettles were found better than earthenware, and blankets were more showy and convenient than bear-skins. These and other things were in the direction of utility, but there were many changes in ornaments. Venetian and other glass and porcelain beads became common, and rings, bracelets and medals of brass, copper and bronze were largely used. Gorgets of shell, and pendants and ornaments of red slate and Catlinite came into fashion. These were long in use, but the metallic ornaments changed early in the eighteenth century and silver was almost universally used for nearly two hundred years not having been yet entirely laid aside. These were at first sold by the traders, the Indians esteeming the English article more than the French, but the Indians themselves learned the art, and made what they wanted out of silver coin. These ornaments went all over the country, and the New York patterns have been found in Canada Wisconsin, Illinois, Ohio and Georgia. My own small collection

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comprises single and double crosses, stars, lyres, hearts, rings, circular disks, Masonic emblems, etc., with rings, ear-rings and bracelets. They have now become scarce, and will soon disappear.

Loskiel said that the Iroquois of his day set the fashion in matters of dress, having means and leisure for this, as well as high rank. So to speak, they were the Parisians of the red men, and their holiday dresses were often very costly. Now, the women, while preferring the tasteful and convenient shawl for home use, have quite an aptitude for white fashions. The men adopted them long ago, retaining something for state occasions.

DREAMS.

In the Relation of 1656, Father de Carheil gave some instances of the influence of dreams among the Cayugas, and the excesses to which they led, sometimes involving the loss of life. He said, "I have earnestly combated their superstitions, especially the divine authority they attribute to dreams, which may be said to be the foundation of all their errors, as it is the soul of their religion. I have nevertheless recognized two things in my efforts to combat it. First that it is not properly the dream that they worship as the master of their life, but a certain one of the genii, they call Agatkonchoria, who, they believe, speak to them in sleep, and command them to obey implicitly their dreams. The principal one of these spirits is Taronhiaouagon. * * * * * They also sometimes give the name of master of their life to the object of their dream, as for example, to the skin of a bear, or to similar things which they have seen in their sleep; and because they regard them as charms." The second thing was that they thought the soul left the body during sleep, and went off to see the things of which it dreamed.

In one instance ten men plunged successively through a hole in the ice on the river, and all came out at another hole but the

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last, who was drowned. In another a maiden was about to be sacrificed to fulfill a dream, when the dreamer said, "I am content; my dream is satisfied."

When Dablon and Chaumonot were on their way to Onondaga in 1655, they were much alarmed by the first effects of an Indian's dreams. To cure him "they all pretended to be as mad as himself, and to fight with the animals living in the water. They also prepared to sweat themselves, so as to get him to do like them. As he cried and sung aloud during the process of sweating, imitating the cry of the animals with which he was fighting, so they also began to cry and sing aloud the cries of those animals which they pretended to be fighting, every one striking the poor fellow in the cadence of their song. Imagine what a chorus of twenty voices, imitating ducks, teal, and frogs, and what a sight to see so many men pretending to be mad in order to cure a madman. They succeeded well."

THE DREAM FEAST.

The Dream Feast intensified all the follies of the ordinary dream, for the whole nation had a part. The war feast had taken place in January, 1656, at Onondaga, and the following month Father Dablon described the Honnonouaroria, which the chiefs shortened at that time, out of regard to the safety of the French.

"It began with the 22d of February, and lasted three days. Immediately on the proclamation of the Feast by the old men of the village, to whom this duty is intrusted, the whole population, men, women and children, rush from their cabins through the streets in the wildest confusion, but by no means after the manner of an European masquerade. The larger part are nearly naked, and seem insensible to cold which is almost intolerable to the warmly clad. Certain ones carry with them a plentiful supply of water, and it may be something more hurtful to throw upon those who come in their way. Others seize fire-brands,

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live coals with ashes, which they fling about without regard to consequences. Others still occupy themselves in breaking pots, plates, and the small household utensils they happened to encounter. A number are armed with swords, spears, knives, hatchets, clubs, acting as if they would hurl these at the first comer; and this is kept up until some one is able to interpret and execute the dream.

"It sometimes happens, however, that the skill of each and all fails him in divining their meaning, since instead of proposing the matter plainly, they rather hide it in enigma, chanting a jumble of doubtful words, or gesticulate in silence as in pantomime. Therefore they do not always find an Œdipus to solve the riddle. At the same time they obstinately persist in their demand that the dream shall be made known, and if the diviner is too slow, or unwilling to risk an interpretation, or makes the least mistake, they threaten to burn and destroy. Nor are these empty threats, as we found to our cost. One of these mad fellows, slipping into our cabin, boisterously demanded that we should tell his dream, and that at all hazards he must be satisfied. Now though we declared in the outset that we were not there to obey these dreams, he kept up his noise and gabble long after we had left the spot, and retired to a lodge in the open field to avoid the tumult. At last one of those with whom we lodged, wearied with his outcry, went to see what would satisfy him. The furious creature answered: 'I kill a Frenchman; that is my dream, and it must be done at any sacrifice.' Our host then threw him a French dress, as though the clothes of the dead man, at the same time assuming a like fury, saying that he would avenge the Frenchman's death, and that his loss would be that of the whole village, which he would lay in ashes, beginning with his own cabin. On this he drove out parents, friends, servants, the whole crowd assembled to see the end of this hubbub. Left alone in his house, he bolted the door and set fire everywhere to the interior. At the instant the spectators looked to see the cabin in

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flames, Father Chaumonot, on an errand of mercy, arrived, and seeing the smoke coming from the bark house, exclaimed, 'This must not be,'—burst open the door, threw himself into the smoke and flames, subdued the fire, and quietly drew out our host from his peril, contrary to the expectation of the whole people, who had thought the demon of dreams irresistible. The man, however, continued to show his fury. He ran through the streets and cabins, shouting at the top of his voice that everything should be set on fire to avenge the death of the Frenchman. They then offered him a dog as a victim to his anger and to the god of his passion. 'It is not enough,' said he, 'to efface the disgrace and infamy of trying to slay a Frenchman lodged in my house.' They then made him a second offering like the first, when he at once became quiet, and went off as if nothing had happened.

"It is to be remarked, in passing, that as in their wars they make more of the spoil taken from the prisoner than they do of his life, so when one dreams that he must kill any one, he is often content with the clothes of the one to be slain, in place of his person. Thus it was that the Frenchman's dress was given to the dreamer, with which he was entirely appeased. But to pass to other instances. The brother of our host had also a part in the performance quite as prominent as any of the others. He arrayed himself to personate a Satyr, covering himself from head to foot with husks of Indian corn. He dressed up two women as veritable Furies, with their hair parted, their faces blackened with charcoal, each covered with the skin of a wolf and armed with a light and a heavy stick. The Satyr and his companions thus equipped, came about our cabin, singing and howling with all their might. He ascended the roof, followed by the shrews and there played a thousand antics, shouting and screaming as if everything was going to destruction. This done, he came down and walked soberly through the village, preceded

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by these women, who cleared the way with their sticks, breaking whatever lay in their way without distinction. * * * * Hardly had our Satyr disappeared, with his companions, when a woman threw herself into our cabin, armed with an arquebuse, which she had obtained with her dream. She sang, shouted, screamed, declaring that she was going to war against the Cat nation; that she would fight and bring back prisoners, calling down a thousand imprecations and maledictions if the thing did not come out as she had dreamed.

"A warrior followed this Amazon, armed with a long bow, arrows and spear in hand. He danced, he sang, he threatened, then all at once rushed at a woman who was just coming into the cabin to see the comedy, and contented himself with seizing her by the hair and placing the spear at her throat, careful lest he should inflict any wound, and then retired to give place to a prophet, who had dreamed that it was in his power to discover secrets. He was most ridiculously dressed, holding in his hand a sort of rod, which served him to point out the spot where the thing was concealed. It was yet needful that he should have an assistant, who carried a vase filled with I know not what kind of liquor, of which he would take a mouthful, and sputter or blow it out on the head, the face, the hands, and on the rod of the diviner, who after this never failed to discover the matter in question.

"Next came a woman with a mat, which she held in her hand, and moved about as if she were catching fish. This was to indicate that they had to give her some fish because of her dream. Another woman simply hoed up the ground with a mattock, which meant that some one should give her a piece of land that she thought was justly hers. She was satisfied, however, with the possession of five holes in which to plant Indian corn.

"One of the principal men of the village presented himself in a miserable plight. He was all covered with ashes; and because no one had told his dream, which demanded two human hearts,

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he succeeded in prolonging the feast for a day and a night, and during that time did not cease the repetition of his madness. He came to our cabin, where there were a number of fires, and seating himself before the first, threw into the air the ashes and coals. He repeated this at the second and third fireplace; but when he came to our fire he refrained from this act out of respect to us.

"Some came fully armed, and as if actually engaged in combat, they went through the positions, the war cry, the skirmish, as when two armies meet each other. Others marched in bands, danced, and put on all the contortions of body, like those with evil possessions. But we would never get through with the tale if we chose to rehearse all that was done through the three days and nights in which this folly lasted, with one constant uproar, in which one could not so much as think of a moment's repose."

I have quoted this early account because the Dream Feast is a very quiet affair now, though fifty years ago it had some wild features. When the burning of the white dog was added we cannot say, but the other nations seem to have received it from the Senecas during the eighteenth century, nor is there any notice of it among them until the latter half of that period.

HOUSES.

In the account of the early Onondaga Dream Feast, several fires are mentioned in one cabin, for sometimes these were of considerable length, and had several fires for divisions of the family or their lodgers. In this case one person was called their host, having his parents and servants in his house. The chiefs had these large houses, because their doors were open to all, but the common people required less room, as is easily proved. Mr. L. H. Morgan described the council house of 1743, as though it had been an ordinary dwelling, at a time when Bartram said that many of the Onondaga houses contained two families. At that time the Seneca and Onondaga council houses were about eighty

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feet long, with broad seats on either side. To test the average capacity of Iroquois houses one may simply divide Greenhalgh's report of their warriors by the number of cabins. It is fatal to the communal theory. This was in 1677, sufficiently early to fairly represent aboriginal life. The Mohawks were then estimated at ninety-six houses and 300 fighting men, or about three men to a house, who sometimes might be a father and sons. The Oneidas had 100 houses and 200 fighting men, or two to a house. The Onondagas had 164 cabins and 350 warriors; the Cayugas 100 houses and 300 men; and the Senecas 324 houses and 1,000 men. One Seneca town had the largest houses he saw, from fifty to sixty feet long, and with twelve to thirteen fires. It had 120 houses, but on comparison can hardly be assigned more than 400 warriors. It is probable that some of the fires were for captives and slaves. The statement made by a sorrowful Seneca mother shows how large a number of these might be found in a household.

Still the general form of the Iroquois house was long, and generally with the doors at the ends. These were hung at the top, and easily turned aside; the covering for the chimney hole being arranged in the same way for protection against rain. The seats or bedsteads were on either side, one above the other, and the cross beams afforded convenient receptacles for many articles. In the council house the wampum and other presents were hung on these. The great houses of the Huron chiefs were much more spacious, and in these captives were sometimes tortured, while the conquerors reclined at ease on their seats, enjoying the terrible sight.

Charlevoix says that in long houses each fire served for a space of thirty feet, which is too much, but he implies that there was commonly but one family in a house. In the double and triple stockades, "the piles of which they were composed are interwoven with branches of trees, without any void space between." One remark respecting their houses, suggests a picture of the

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Pacific coast: "Formerly the Iroquois built their cabins in a better manner than the other nations, and even than themselves do at this day; these were adorned with figures in relievo, but of very coarse workmanship; and as almost all their towns have been since burned in different expeditions, they have not taken the trouble to rebuild them with their former magnificence." Of course these carvings, if of value, could be carried to a new town when the old was abandoned. They are still quite skillful in carving their domestic utensils. The totem of the owner was formerly placed on each house, and visitors from other nations thus knew where they would be received as of the family.

NAMES.

Among the Hurons those captives who were to be burned were used with great consideration until the time of torture came, but I find nothing like this among the Iroquois, and the treatment of slaves by the latter was often extremely brutal. The Mohawks had a practice of placing prisoners on a low platform, to amuse the people and suffer from them, where all could see. If adopted, the tenderest care was bestowed upon them, and they took the place of the dead in every way, assuming even the name. In fact the dead was supposed figuratively to revive when a person took his name, and the one who bore it was to live worthy of it.

Names of persons are usually more poetic than those of places, but are sufficiently odd even then, as may be seen in the list of principal chiefs, and some of my own friends have those that are quite curious. Fortunately they were never unalterable, and are frequently changed even now, a new chief assuming the titular name. Besides, there are names which are the property of certain clans, and which are used by no others. Names are conferred or changed at the greater feasts, and that is the usual time for adoption. Charlevoix has some remarks on this subject, saying, "The chief of each family bears its name, and in all pub-

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lic deeds he is known by no other. The same thing happens with regard to the chief of a nation, as well as of every village; but besides this name, which is only a sort of representative appellation, they have another, which distinguishes them more particularly, and which is properly a mark of dignity; thus, one is called the most noble, another the most ancient, and so forth. Lastly, they have a third which is personal; but I should be apt to believe that this custom prevails only amongst those nations where the office of chief is hereditary."

WOMEN.

It is often said that the women were really the governing power among the Iroquois, but I find little to support this historically. Theoretically it seems true, and it is certain they had much influence, but the theory has outrun the facts. Charlevoix may again be quoted: "The women have the chief authority amongst all the nations of the Huron language; if we except the Iroquois canton of Onneyouth, (Oneida,) in which it is in both sexes alternately. But if this be their lawful constitution, their practice is seldom agreeable to it. In fact the men never tell the women anything they would have to be kept secret; and rarely anything of consequence is communicated to them, though all is done in their name, and the chiefs are no more than their lieutenants." He relates an instance as "a convincing proof that the real authority of the women is very little." In some other things he thought their assent was but a matter of form, and he was probably right, but admits that they decided the fate of the national captives.

The line of descent being on the woman's side, her children were all of her clan or nation, and this is the present rule. Women still have a voice in the choice of chiefs, and in some treaties the two governesses append their signatures. At feasts they take part in the preparations, as among us, but never make

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speeches. Even at the Dead Feast, where the guests are women, a man is chosen as the speaker. A woman is also an important agent of the False Faces, and they seem credited with more fondness for witchcraft than the men. Quite a study might be made of feminine industries among them, in which they display much ingenuity. One day I saw a woman gathering corn, with her basket on her back. She walked between two rows, gathering with each hand, and throwing the corn over her shoulder into the basket.

IROQUOIS STORIES.

Mrs. Erminnie A. Smith made a good collection of Iroquois stories for the Bureau of Ethnology, in whose second report most of them were published. Part of these may be mentioned in connection with others, without farther credit.

He-no, the Thunder, figures in some, and always beneficently. In some Onondaga feasts there is a dance for the Thunders, and if tobacco is offered them in a dry time, rain may be expected, though this often fails.

One story of the Thunders and the lake serpents has been given; in another a hunter is caught up in the clouds, where his eyes are anointed, and he sees the big serpent in the depths below. He points it out to the Thunders, who try to kill it, but fail; and on this the man draws his bow and slays it, when the storm ceases.

In another tale an old man helps a hunter, but the Thunders tell him that his benefactor is an evil being whom they must kill. He is enticed away from home, after making sure that the sky is clear, but while he is carrying an immense bear to his cave the Thunders appear. He becomes a great porcupine, and endeavors to escape, but is slain.

Mr. L. H. Morgan related another story, found among the Senecas. Rather than marry a hated suitor a Seneca girl turned

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her canoe over Niagara Falls, where the Thunder dwells. He caught her as she fell, and placed her in his cave, where she stayed a long time. From him she learned of a great serpent lying under her village, which caused sickness and death; and on her return the village was removed, but the serpent followed until slain by the Thunder. His body was thrown into the river and catching on the rocks, formed the Horse-shoe Falls.

One beautiful idea relates to the corn, beans and squashes, all indigenous plants, which are called three sisters, as well as their life, or supporters. The thought is a happy one, for they grow together, and were always important in Indian life. From the red men the colonists learned to plant all three together, the corn supporting the climbing bean, while the squash wandered among the hills. They are remembered in religious feasts.

Some make the West Wind destroy the Stone Giants, instead of the Holder of the Heavens; and in this case they are precipitated into a deep ravine. Their wives rarely appear in stories, but one ran away from her cruel husband, and stayed with a hunter's family making herself very useful. When her husband came to take her away, she caught and held him down, until he was killed by her host. Soon after she went home again.

A story of the Great Head has some features found in Okwencha, but the monster is all head, with shaggy hair. Ten orphan boys lived with their uncle, but one after another disappeared when they went hunting until the youngest alone was left, and his uncle kept him at home. One day they found a man almost dead, deep in the ground, but revived him by rubbing and feeding him with bear's oil. He told them many strange things. One night he heard his brother, Great Head, howling in a hurricane, and the next day went to see him. To do so he became a mole, and watched him through the grass, but Great Head turned his eyes, and said, "I see you." So the man shot at him, and the blunt arrow became large as it flew, and drove the monster away. Then it became small as it returned to the

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man, and he ran for the house. As he went Great Head came riding on the storm. Several times was he driven back with the arrow, but at last reached the house, where they fed him on blocks of maple wood. He told them that the nine brothers had been turned to dry bones by a witch. So the youngest brother went with him, and the old witch was killed and burned. They placed the dry bones in rows, sorting them as well as they could, and then Great Head went off and came back in a storm. As he returned, the young man said to the bones, "All arise!" and all came to life again. In Okwencha, the boy pushes against a tree, and cries, "Look out! look out!" and in a Canadian Algonquin story he shoots an arrow in the air, with the same cry and results.

Hiawatha came to a lake which he wished to cross, when a great flock of ducks alighted in it, drinking the water and soaking it up. When it was dry he gathered the shells in its bed for wampum. The Onondagas point to a dried up pond among the Tully lakes, as the spot, but Mr. Hale's story would place it much farther east.

Hiawatha could call down the wampum bird, and when he first visited the Mohawks, in the story told me, he used its quills. This will appear under the heading of Hiawatha. A man once saw a wampum bird in the woods, and told the head chief, who offered his daughter to any one who would kill it. Every time it was hit it threw off wampum, and still had as much as before. At last a small boy from another tribe wished to try, and was opposed, but the chief allowed him to shoot, and the bird fell. He divided the wampum between his own tribe and that of his bride, and it became the offering of peace and for injuries

A boy once found a beautiful snake, and fed it, but everything he put in the water with it became alive. He got more snakes and hung them up, and as their oil dropped in the water it became still livelier. By anointing his eyes with this water he saw hidden things, and by pointing his finger at people he be-

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witched them. Many other curious properties it had, which appear in the various witch stories.

Two of these were told me by Rev. Albert Cusick. In the first a young man thought his brother was bewitched, and wanted to find out by whom it was done. So he went to an old woman, and told her he wished to become a witch. She said he might, but if he did he must point his finger at his sister when he returned from their meeting, and she would soon die. He arranged a plan with his sister, and went with the old woman that night. As they went through the bushes he broke off a twig now and then. All at once the old woman sprang into a tree, and became a great panther, snarling and spitting at him. He was terribly frightened, but did not run, and when she came down, and said, "Were you not scared?" he answered, "O no; not at all. I would like to be like that myself." When they came to the place of meeting they found a great many witches, young and old, who had a fire; and over the fire was a small vessel of the size of a tea-cup. Over this was a bunch of snakes, and their blood slowly dropped into the cup. Of this all drank a little from time to time, and the young man pretended to drink, too. Then they took different shapes, and asked him what he would like to be. He thought a screech owl, and imitated its cry. They gave him an owl's head, which he put on when the meeting broke up. Away he flew to his brother's house, through the air, and the people were much alarmed when they heard a screech owl on the roof. But he came in quietly and pointed his finger at a dog, which sickened and died. His sister pretended to be sick, and all the witches came to say how sorry they were. Next night the warriors went with the young man, and when they got to the spot a man was making a speech. He said it was good to kill people, and the Great Spirit would reward them for it, for it saved them much sorrow and pain; but before he had finished the warriors rushed in, and killed them all.

In the other, a boy lived with his grandmother, who went into

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the loft every night, but would never let him go. One day, when she was away, he climbed up and found a bark box near a hole in the roof. In this was an owl's head, which he thought would be nice to wear, and put it on. Immediately he flew out of the hole, and towards a house where there was a sick person. He caught hold of bushes and sunflowers, to stop himself, but it was of no use, for all came up by the roots. Then he flew into the house and fell down among the ashes. The people were frightened at an owl's coming in, but, behold, it was only a little boy with an owl's head, and another witch was found out.

Some stories are quite wide-spread, even among Indians. In one a boy was to marry one of two beautiful maidens, who one day came to see him, and then returned home. When it was time for him to go and seek his fortune, his uncle gave him a charmed suit, and directions for his journey. These he did not follow, and fell into trouble, for a man took his handsome clothes and went in his place, marrying the elder sister. The younger would have nothing to do with him, nor would the charmed suit obey his wishes. At last the younger maiden found the boy asleep in the corn-field, sick and greatly changed. She pitied him, took his part and saw all made right again, the impostor being punished.

This appears in Mrs. Smith's Iroquois stories, but its leading features are much like a Dakota tale, related by the Rev. J. O. Dorsey. Both are somewhat suggestive of the Old World.

Modern influences have been at work, and "Boots," the youngest son or slighted boy, frequently appears. "The Lad and the Chestnuts" has a suggestion of European tales. Two brothers lived together, and one seemed well fed and never hungry, so his brother watched him. From under a trap-door he took a kettle, and at his word it grew larger over the fire, so that he had a fine feast. Then he made it small and put it away. When he was gone the next morning, the younger brother got it out, and found half a chestnut in it. He made the kettle large,

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but could not stop its growth, and had to go outside the house, until his brother came home and made it small again. But the chestnut was gone, and he pined away. So the younger man started for the distant magic chestnut tree, which grew beyond a great river, and was guarded by a white heron. With the help of a mole and a magic canoe, which expanded and contracted at need, he got the chestnuts, escaped safely, and they were happy ever after.

It sounds like some of our nursery tales, and yet has features in common with some Indian tales in the West. Such a diffusion of native tales was to be expected, when the Iroquois carried on such distant wars, and adopted so many captives. At the time of the Huron war a French missionary wrote, "the fear of the Iroquois is everywhere;" and yet they had then gone but a few hundred miles from home. At a later day they reached South Carolina and the Mississippi. The Cherokees and Catawbas sent their ambassadors to Onondaga, and the Iroquois gathered the tales and customs, as well as the spoils of many nations.

O-KWEN-CHA, OR RED PAINT.

I had this story from Albert Cusick, or Sa-go-na-qua-der, "He that makes every one angry;" and he, in turn, had it from Bill Lije, or Soo-noc-weh, "A valuable house."

A long time ago a little boy, named O-kwen-cha, or Red Paint, lived in an old kanosa-honwe, or real bark house, and this had no windows, and but one doorway. The door was made of old skins, and the chimney was so large that the cabin seemed to have no roof. The bark-roof was moss-grown, and even a small maple grew upon it. There was no floor, and on one side meat was hung; on the other were implements, ornaments and clothing, long disused. The grandmother did all the work and killed all the game. They always had enough, but whenever she went

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out she told him not to touch the ga-na-cho-we, or Indian drum, which hung upon the wall.

Okwencha was very small, and was clothed in furs. His face was painted with streaks of red, and he had war and hunting implements made by his uncles long ago. But he could not go out, and so shot at things in the cabin. There were four beds, too, which had not been used for many moons. He wondered what those beds were for, and why he must not touch the drum. One day he took the drum down, and said, "This is the way I think my uncles did." Then he began to drum and to chant his war-song, "Ha-wa-sa-say Ha-wa-sa-say!" His uncles came from under the beds, and danced with him, and when they danced the dancing was heard throughout the world.

The grandmother was at the world's end, but she heard all as plainly as if at home, and she ran there at once, and her foot-steps were heard throughout the world. So when all heard the drum, the dancing, and the running of Cho-noo-kwa-a-nah, or "Uncombed Coarse Hair," they said, "He, ha! So Cho-noo-kwa-a-nah is in trouble again. We will soon see what magician will try to kill her or her children."

Okwencha heard her running, and put the drum away, and his uncles vanished. He put more wood on the fire, and soon she came in with the sweat on her face, and breathless from haste. "Oh, my grandchild!" she said, "What have you done? You have killed me!" And she said this again. He said he had been making her old moccasins dance, and it was real fun. But she asked whose were the footmarks in the dust? He did not answer, but placed the old moccasins in a row, and took hsi bow and arrows. He beat on his bow-string, and sung his war-song, and the moccasins danced till the cabin was full of dust. "Oh!" said his grandmother, "Okwencha is quite a witch!"

She went off the next day, and all happened as before, but on the third day she went but a little way, and he had the drum in his hands when she came in. Then came a very tall man, so tall

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that he had to crawl into the cabin, and told the grandmother she must come to his place, and they must wrestle for their heads. If either was thrown three times the loser's head should be cut off. The man was Sus-ten-ha-nah, or "He Large Stone," from the flat stone on which he lived, and he was a cannibal and a great wrestler.

So Coarse Hair prepared for her three days' journey to the stone. She told her grandson to stay in the house, and hope that she might be successful. But when she got to the stone Sustenhanah was very hungry, and seized her at once, but as he was about to throw her on the stone a voice was heard, "Here! here! that is not the way to wrestle! Here! here! give me the chance, grandmother!" Sustenhanah said, "Ho, ho! plenty of game to-day!" when Okwencha came up through the stone.

The giant said, "Ho, ho! so you want to wrestle, do you? What do you amount to?" and he tore his body in two, and threw him aside. Then he seized Coarse Hair again, but up came Okwencha, saying, "Give me the chance, grandmother!" So she let him try again. He threw the giant three times, and he knelt down so that Okwencha might cut off his head. It flew high up in the air, and they wondered when it went so high, but the body remained kneeling till the head came back and stuck on again. It was cut off a second and a third time, but the third time they drew the body to one side. When the head came down it struck on the stone, and broke it into a thousand pieces, which were scattered all over the world: and that is why we have stones everywhere. The head was likewise broken and scattered, the brains becoming snails, and that is why we have snails everywhere. Gesenweh, or snails, is also the Onondaga name of brains.

Okwencha sent his grandmother home, while he went to find his uncles. First he gathered all the bones he could find, of those whom Sustenhanah had killed, and put them in a row. Then he pushed on a big hickory tree, and called out, "Euch!

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Euch!" or "Take care! take care! This tree will fall over you! You had better get out of the way!" The tree fell, the bones came to life, and all began to run away. But the right bones had not always come together, and he made them change, so that men looked like men, and bears and deer as they should. The people wanted him to be their chief, but he sent them all home, his first uncle among the rest.

He went on farther. On the third day he heard an Indian drum, but could not tell where it was. In the night he woke up, dancing, and far from his camp-fire, going towards the drum. He said, "He, he! the old fellow is quite a witch." The second night this happened again, and the third day he came to a crowd of men. A giant was beating a drum, while he sat by a kettle of boiling soup. The hungry people danced around, and every little while he seized and ate one, while Red Paint stood by. He struck at the man, who was named Kah-nah-chu-wah-ne, or "He Big Kettle." He hit him on the forehead, but he took no notice. The third time he looked up and scratched his forehead, and said, "It seems to me the mosquitoes bite." When they fought Okwencha cut off his head with his bone scalping knife, and threw it in the soup. The hungry people would have eaten of the soup, and wanted him for their chief, but he would allow neither. He sent them away, and then broke the big kettle and drum. He also cut up and burned the giant's body, and then gathered all the bones and placed them in a row near a great pine tree, pushing on this and crying out as before. The people came to life, but he had again to exchange some heads and limbs. One of his uncles was there, too, but he sent them all home, going westward alone, as before.

In three days he heard the distant barking of a dog, and on the third day afterwards he met a man whose flesh was eaten from his feet to his thighs. A dog was running after him, biting off his flesh. Red Paint said, "I wish my dogs, Okwae, the Bear, and Kuhahsenteatah, the Lion, were here." He whistled,

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and they came and killed the dog, and then were sent home. Red Paint healed the man, who was his third uncle, and sent him to his grandmother.

He went on for three days more, when he came to a village, and lived awhile with a poor woman and her boy. They became good hunters, and the woman was glad. One night there was to be a great feast at the council house, when they would make wampum. Soup was poured through a dead man's skin, and became wampnm as it passed through. They had had this skin a long time, and it was that of Okwencha's uncle, which he wanted so much.

He went to the feast, late in the evening, and found a great crowd. Then he said, "I wish Tah-hun-tike-skwa, the bat, were here; and Che-ten-ha, the mouse, and Tah-hoon-to-whe, the night-hawk;" and all came. He told the bat to amuse the people by flying about, while the mouse climbed the pole and gnawed off the cords supporting his uncle's skin. The night-hawk was to go to and fro and report to him. The people had great sport with the bat, and the mouse gnawed the cords almost off, which the night-hawk reported, and then flew away with the bat.

The people were tired, and while a chief was speaking Red Paint took the skin away. As he did this he thought, "I wish all the people were asleep;" and they slept. He then cut off the chief's head and took it away, and hid the skin. Then the people awoke, and found both were gone, so that there was a great uproar. They searched for Okwencha, crying out furiously, and he pretended to lead the chase in the darkness, until they all gave up.

Then he went back to the council house, and threw the chief's head among them, saying he had slain the man who killed their chief. They kicked it around, while he went away, but at last a man saw their mistake, and they chased Okwencha again. They were too late, and he carried off his uncle's skin, which he

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breathed into and restored to life. So they went pleasantly homeward together.

The old woman had fastened the door, and they could not get in, for the animals used to come and fool her, pretending to be her grandson. She became a very old woman, and they found her bending over the fire, the dust and ashes on her back an inch deep. Red Paint said, "I will make a young woman out of my grandmother yet." He took a little stick, and stuck it in the loose skin, back of her head, and as he twisted it all the wrinkles became smooth, and she seemed a handsome young woman. Then she saw him, and was so glad that she felt young all over.

He said, "Now we will fix up the old house;" and as he wanted it, so it became. Then his other three uncles came, loaded with bear's meat, and all were happy.

This story is given more fully in the Journal of American Folk Lore, for 1889, where I noted the occurrence of assisting animals, and the triple arrangement, as in European tales.

HI-A-WAT-HA.

It is rather odd that what is now the most famous of Iroquois names was almost unknown but little over half a century ago. Mr. J. V. H. Clark had the Onondaga version from two chiefs of that nation, in 1845, and published it in the New York Commercial Advertiser, soon after. Schoolcraft used these notes without credit, before they were included in Clark's History, and afterwards took the name for his western Indian legends, where it had no proper place. About the same time, Alfred B. Street obtained a few original notes from other Iroquois sources, which he used in his metrical romance of "Frontenac," in 1849, along with some from Schoolcraft. Longfellow followed the latter, and made an Ojibway out of an Iroquois chief.

Like similar Iroquois names the final syllables are pronounced *wat-ha*, by the Indians, and by the Onondagas it is commonly

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called Hi-e-wat-ha. Its meaning presents some difficulties. Mr. Horatio Hale, the eminent philologist, interprets it, "He who seeks or makes the wampum belt." This would bring the name down to the seventeenth century, if the ordinary wampum belt is meant, for until then the Iroquois had none of the small beads used in making these. On the other hand, several stories connect Hiawatha with the first Iroquois use of wampum, which strengthens this interpretation. As he probably lived in the seventeenth century, or the latter part of the sixteenth, this might harmonize very well.

Mr. L. H. Morgan translated Ha-yo-went-ha, "He who combs," understanding an allusion in this to his combing the snakes out of Atotarho's head. Pere Cuoq suggested "The river-maker." Daniel La Fort, the Onondaga chief, could give no meaning, though his father had interpreted it "The very wise man." My Onondaga friend, Albert Cusick, told me that the name meant "One who has lost his mind, and seeks it, knowing where to find it." This meaning is suggestive of the story related by Mr. Hale. The reader may choose between these, but the last definition seems to me the best.

According to Pyrlæus, the confederacy was first proposed by Thannawage, an old Mohawk chief, and formed "one age, or the length of a man's life, before the white people came into the country," which seems too early. His other statement, that the alliance was made about one hundred years before the Tuscaroras came into New York, (1714) may be as much too late. At the end of the last century the Onondagas told Ephraim Webster that it was about two generations, or one man's life, before the whites came to trade with them. This would make it about 1586. According to Schoolcraft, some of the Senecas thought it occurred four years before Hudson ascended the river. This would carry it forward to 1605. On the whole, as a general date for Hiawatha's life, the year 1600 will do.

Mr. J. V. H. Clark first published the story, afterwards in-

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cluded in his history of Onondaga, and often quoted by others. Part of it is like Canassatego's story of the confederacy, part of it included Iroquois stories, but much bears the impress of missionary teaching and recent events. It differs widely from the Canadian tradition, yet seems much alike everywhere in New York, and this would tend to prove a somewhat recent origin for all its forms, still further confirmed by Cusick's silence on the subject. There is also clearly a mingling of different persons of different natures, which easily came about, for the modern Iroquois at least, thought their deities visited them in human form.

Clark's tale of Hiawatha may be brifley sketched, and in this the Holder of the Heavens hardly seems to be the Great Spirit, but a lower deity, "who presides over fisheries and streams." In fact Clark says, "he had been deputed by the Great and Good Spirit Na-wah-ne-u, to visit the streams and clear the channels," etc., for the good of men, an evident reference to the mission of Christ. He appeared on the blue waves of Lake Ontario, (the beautiful lake,) in his white canoe, and was welcomed by two hunters at Oswego, "Where the small water flows into the large." The lake had many names.

The Onondagas accompanied him to the land of monsters and enchantments, following the river. A great serpent, lying across the stream, was destroyed by his magic paddle, and the white canoe glided on over waters never traversed before. A second was slain, the fish were set free, and the river became safe for all. They were attracted to Onondaga lake, which then had no outlet, but the wondrous paddle made a small and increasing channel, so that the lake was lowered to its present level, and the salt springs were laid bare. As late as 1654 the Indians, who then used no salt, thought that these were hurtful springs.

It is probable that this part of the story is recent, the serpents being the obstructing rifts in the river, cut through and made passable by the Oswego canal. The outlet of Onondaga lake was straightened and deepened by the State in 1822, and the

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lake lowered. The magic paddle was the ditcher's spade, and the white canoe may have been a white canal boat, propelled by a new power, and passing the falls without a portage.

Peacefully rose the smoke from the chestnut grove, where the enchantress Oh-cau-nee guarded the precious fruit, but her power was broken, and the trees by the river became free to all comers. The voyagers passed Cross lake through which the river flows, and the skeletons of men showed that they were near the haunts of the Great Mosquitoes, which stood on either bank, destroying all who sought to pass. After a severe contest one was killed there, but the other fled to a vast distance, closely pursued by the great deliverer. At last he was slain, as elsewhere related, and the small mosquitoes were produced by his decaying body, which also discolored the water of the swamps.

The ancient name of Seneca river is Thi-o-he-ro, "The river of rushes," and when the wide spread Montezuma marshes were reached, two great eagles were slain, which allowed none of the wild fowl there to escape. In this story this terminates the westward journey of Hiawatha, but with others he goes still farther. Thenceforward he was known by this name, while dwelling as a wise man on the shores of Cross lake. This title is here said to have been given on account of the wise advice imparted to the multitudes who sought his home. The northern invasion occasioned his calling the great council, which soon gathered on the east shore of Onondaga lake, but at which he did not at once appear.

Ge-nen-ta-ha was the name used by the French, as that of Onondaga lake; the English called a small village there Ka-ne-en-da; but the present name is Oh-nen-ta-ha. Morgan defines this as "Material for council fire." The Onondagas now commonly call it Kotch-a-ka-too, "Lake surrounded by salt springs." The French fort of 1656 was on the east shore also, and this may have caused the belief that here the first council was held. All along that shore there are scattered traces of early and recent

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occupation, while on the western bank the hamlets and lodges are not Iroquois, but of an earlier period. On some accounts it seems improbable that the council could have been held there.

At last the wise man launched his white canoe, placed his daughter in it, and went to the meeting with gloomy forebodings. As they landed, the great white bird fell from heaven, killing his daughter and itself. Overcome with grief, he lay as one dead for three days, when he was aroused, brought into the council, which formed the League, and then, seated in his white canoe, rose to heaven in the sight of all.

I have omitted many details in this sketch, but think those who study the full narrative will be impressed with the thought that this is partially an Indian version of the mission and work of Christ, his dwelling upon the earth as man, his death, resurrection and ascension. Mingled with this are many other things.

It will be observed that there is no reference to Atotarho here, while Cusick makes him the true founder of the League. In the account given to Street, a great triumvirate accomplished the work. Hah-yoh-wont-hah (Hiawatha) and To-gan-a-we-tah (Dekanawidah) disappear, but Atotarho remains. All are supernatural, but Toganawetah was so beautiful that the Great Spirit might have envied him. He appeared suddenly, no one knew whence, and vanished as mysteriously. His prophecy may be noted in Street's account, where it is given as in the exact words by a Cayuga chief: "When the White throats shall come, then, if ye are divided, you will pull down the Long House, cut down the Tree of Peace, and put out the Council Fire." With this may be compared the expression, "by reason of the neck being white," in Mr. Hale's "Iroquois Book of Rites." Some of the chiefs did not understand the meaning of this, while others thought it an allusion to the Europeans, who were on the continent before Hiawatha lived. The disappearance of the two leaders is a poetical rendering of their having no successors in the Grand Council.

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Mr. Horatio Hale has received the Hiawatha story in a form which has much to commend it, and which brings it down to plain history. Giving it its proper date, and allowing for some embellishments, it is likely to be accepted. In the main this appears in "A Lawgiver of the Stone Age," and in his valuable "Iroquois Book of Rites." Portions of this are found among the New York Indians, but for the most part it is a Canadian story, and may have taken form after the separation of the Iroquois at the close of the Revolution. Mr. Hale, in the Canadian story, and Mr. Morgan in the Seneca, both make Toganawetah an Onondaga adopted by the Mohawks. According to the latter he chooses Hiawatha as his speaker, on account of an impediment in his own speech, and he becomes a Mohawk, too.

The nations were at war when Hiawatha formed his plan of universal peace. The cruel and unscrupulous Atotarho thrice defeated the deliberations at Onondaga, so greatly was he feared, and Hiawatha, himself an Onondaga, turned to the Mohawks for aid. He arrayed himself in white wampum, and went to Dekanawidah, who approved his plans. The Oneidas wanted time to consider, but at last gave their support. When the Cayugas also assented, Atotarho yielded, and advised inviting the Senecas, who were the last of all to join. The council was called, the Iroquois League formed, and Atotarho was placed at the head on the motion of Hiawatha, singular as this may seem.

This is a general sketch, and some incidents, not elsewhere mentioned, may be included here. Among the pathetic features of either story is the death of Hiawatha's daughter, but whereas she is a girl of a dozen years in Clark's version, in Mr. Hale's she is a married woman, who is fatally injured in the rush that follows the shooting of a strange bird by one of Atotarho's men, at one of the earlier councils. The traditional journey is probably introduced as a sketch of the country. The Oneidas and Onondagas at first lived so far south, that from the Mohawk river to Cayuga lake the forest trails were commonly used, as they were

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in later times. In a story the picturesque effect was better when the lakes and rivers were followed. So the party named some places in passing through Oneida lake. "This is Se-u-kah, where the waters divide and meet again," said Hiawatha, as they came to the islands, and the name remains still. Going up Seneca river, he found Indians spearing eels at the Montezuma marshes, who came out of the rushes, bringing fish for their refreshment, and he said, "These are Teu-ha-kah, the people of the rushes, or Eels." The drawing out of the canoes at Cayuga lake, and the naming of it from this, is another incident of the traditional journey.

THE CONDOLENCE.

Mr. Hale's "Iroquois Book of Rites," is based on some manuscript copies of certain speeches made at the raising of chiefs. These preserve the names of the principal chiefs of the confederacy, which have varied very little since its foundation, though they differ in the several dialects to a moderate extent. In early days the condolence and the raising of chiefs did not always go together, and many instances might be cited; nor was the ceremony of raising chiefs always the same. The aid of the French or English was often invoked, and Sir William Johnson's influence was often clearly seen. He had a list of a large number of chiefs whom he had installed in office, for his presence and aid were always deemed an honor. Even in these instances, however, he gratified his forest friends by following their customs in the main.

The most notable condolence recorded by Sir William, was that of Kaghswughtioni, or Red Head, at Onondaga, in June, 1756. That all the addresses did not follow a fixed form is evident, because, at the "Camp at Oneida, 15th June, 1756, A. M., Sir William and the Sachems of every Nation prepared the several speeches of Condolence to be made at Onondaga upon

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the death of" the chief, "and chose the proper Belts for the Ceremony." On the 18th of June, two Cayugas met him "at the place where formerly the Onondagas lived, about five miles from their present habitation." Three Cayugas met him when a mile from Onondaga Castle, "and a halt was made of two hours, to settle the formalities of the condolence, agreeable to the ancient custom of the 6 Nations. Then Sir William marched on at the head of the sachems singing the condoling song which contains the names, laws and customs of their renowned ancestors, and praying to God that their deceased brother might be blessed with happiness in his other state." This part was performed by one Mohawk and two Oneida principal chiefs. "When they came within sight of the castle, the head sachems and warriors met Sir William, where he was stopped, they having placed themselves in a half moon across the road, sitting in profound silence; there a halt was made about an hour, during which time the aforesaid sachems sung the condoling song." Then all rose up, and shook hands, welcoming him and his company.

"Then Sir William marched on at the head of the warriors, the sachems falling into the rear, and continued singing their condoling song. On entering the castle Sir Wm. was saluted by all the Indians firing their guns, which was returned by all the whites and Indians who attended Sir William. The sachems proceeded to a green bower, adjoining to the deceased sachem's house, prepared on purpose, and after they were seated they sent for Sir William. When he came they addressed themselves to him, wiped away their tears, cleaned the throats, and opened the heart according to their customs. Thus ended his introduction.

"19 June. The full council of all the Nations met, with Sir William at their head, to perform the grand solemnity of Condolence for the death of Caghswautioony, chief sachem of Onondaga. Old Abraham, the head sachem of the Mohawks, performed this in the following manner." This office belonged to

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the Younger Brothers, but sometimes a speaker was borrowed, as is the case now.

A large belt covered the grave, another comforted the relatives, a third was given to the council to brighten the English covenant chain, two belts dispelled the clouds of day and night. In all eleven belts and three strings of wampum were given, an enemy's scalp "to replace the deceased, and with a glass of rum round to wash down all sorrow and grief, the whole ceremony of condolence ended." A note is made in the proceedings of their "nightly consultations, that being the time the warriors of the 6 Nations hold their councils," as though the warriors and sachems held councils at different hours.

A modern condolence differs much from this, and a recent one may be described, held on the Tuscarora reservation. The Elder Brothers assembled toward the east, before noon, and sent a runner to the Tuscaroras, with a notched stick showing their numbers. Then they formed in line, with bowed heads, and marched towards the council house, an Onondaga chanting a mournful song. Midway they met the Younger Brothers coming from the west, reaching a fire by the roadside at the same moment. The Elder Brothers ranged themselves on the west side of this, the Younger Brothers on the east. Lamentations followed, and then a speech was made for the Tuscaroras, which was replied to by the Onondagas. Then a chief slowly walked up and down between the lines, chanting a lament.

A little later the Younger Brothers led the way to the council house, seating themselves at the south end, while the Elder Brothers were at the north. The mourning chant followed, containing the names of the principal chiefs. Then a curtain was drawn across the center of the room, the parties remaining as before. The Elder Brothers began a chant, the Onondagas chanting first, in a circle and with bowed heads. On a cane laid across their seats were several strings of wampum. The curtain was then removed, and chants and speeches followed from the

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Onondagas, whose chief took the wampum to the Younger Brothers, one bunch at a time, thus delivering the law to them, The curtain was hung again, and the Younger Brothers chanted, after which the curtain was finally taken away. An Onondaga chief then described the laws, and the Tuscaroras returned the wampum, string by string, saying, "You said this to me; I will do right." Then La Fort said, "Now we are ready; show me the men." Two Tuscaroras were presented, and he announced their chief names. A charge was given, concluding with, "That is all I can say to you, and I think it is enough." This ended the condolence, and a feast followed. Until the new chief is raised, the horns of his predecessor are said to rest on his grave, and of old no business could be done. When the place was filled, all went on as before.

Something like the condoling song was often used in councils. When Conrad Weiser conferred with the Grand Council at Onondaga, July 30, 1743, "First, the Onondagoes rehearsed the beginning of the Union of the five Nations, Praised their Grandfathers' Wisdom in establishing the Union or Alliance, by which they became a formidable Body; that they (now living) were but Fools to their wise Fathers, Yet protected and accompanied by their Fathers' Spirit."

Again, "Aquoyiota repeated all that was said in a singing way, walking up and down in the House, added more in praise of their wise Fathers and of the happy union, repeated all the names of those Ancient Chiefs that established it; they no Doubt, said he, are now God's and dwell in heaven; then Proclamation was made that the Council was now Opened."

In this council the Onondaga speaker called the Mohawks and Senecas our Brothers, the Oneidas our Son, and the Cayugas and Tuscaroras our Younger Sons. "After all was over, according to the Ancient Custom of that Fire, a Song of Friendship and Joy was sung by the Chiefs, after this the Council Fire on their side was put out."

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When Weiser reached the Tuscarora town of Canaseraga, September 8, 1750, the Onondagas sent to tell him that Canassatego had died the night before, and there could be no council. "It is to be known that the Six Nations dont't meet in council when they are in mourning, till some of their friends or neighbors wipe off their tears and comfort their hearts; it is a certain ceremony, and if they appear in council without this ceremony being performed, the dead person was of no credit or esteem, and it is a certain affront to the deceased's friends, if he has any." In this case the chief was distinguished, and an hour later another runner announced that a council had been summoned, contrary to ancient custom, on account of the long distance Weiser had come, and their high regard for him. They held a condolence on the 12th, an Oneida chief speaking in the name of Weiser, and of the Cayugas, Senecas and Tuscaroras, the sons of the Onondagas. He "mourned a great man dead among them, (according to custom the dead man's name must not be mentioned) he wiped off their tears, cleared their throats, and cleansed the place where the dead had sat, of any evil distemper which might affect others."

The following year, Weiser bewailed the death of Canassatego and others, employing the same Oneida chief. "After most of the Indians met, Canachquiesson stood up, and begg'd me to walk up and down the floor, and to sing lamentation songs in very melancholy time; which he continued till all were met, and some time after; in the song mention was made of the person or persons for which he mourned, and their virtues praised." Several graves were covered by giving belts.

Condolences, on the other hand, were used by the Iroquois for French or English losses. At Albany, in 1702, the chiefs of the Five Nations "sang a sorrowful song which they had made upon the death of his late Majesty. * * * * Since it has pleased God to take King William to himself into Heaven, we do now bury the remembrance of it. Condoling his death, and as a

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token thereof do give 10 beavers." Thirteen years later they condoled the death of Queen Anne, in a similar way.

Chiefs, however, were raised at almost any council, and often by chiefs of the same nation. At a general council at Mount Johnson, in 1755, "The chief sachem of Oneida then rose up and addressing himself to the Mohawks, Onondagas and Senecas, and said: Fathers and Elder Brothers. We acquaint you that one of our sachems, called Connochquisie, is dead; we raise up this boy (presenting one) in his room, and give him the same name." He repeated this to Col. Johnson, with a string of wampum, who confirmed the appointment. Later, in the same council, the Oneidas and Tuscaroras presented two young men, "worthy to be made sachems, and desired they might be accepted as such, and that the Colonel would distinguish them with the usual clothing as sachems. He complied with their request."

On February 16th, 1756, he assisted the Oneidas and Tuscaroras in condoling the Canajoharie Mohawks, on the death of the great Hendrick, or Tiyanoga, and other chiefs. On the 27th a successor was presented for Tarrachioris, but they had not yet chosen Hendrick's successor. The other nations seem to have had nothing to do with this and earlier raisings, but this simple ceremony was afterwards combined with the condolence for convenience.

CACHES.

Besides graves and ossuaries, there are found deposits and pits of other kinds. Very often the plow turns up a quantity of flint implements, which in New York are usually of one size and form. They would serve for knives, but are generally regarded as unfinished implements, buried together for future use. Once I have known of a cache of marine bivalve shells, roughly chipped to less than an inch in diameter, and intended for disk beads. It is not now, however, my intention to describe antique articles,

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but another class of pits requires more attention. Many fine examples still remain, and I looked over a small piece of woodland in Montgomery county, which is completely filled with contiguous pits, several feet deep and in diameter. I have met with them elsewhere, but not in as fine condition. These were the corn pits of the Iroquois, but the practice was a general one.

The French term *cache*, or a hiding place, has become general for this mode of concealment, which is frequent among traders and trappers. Father Hennepin described this, in his travels in 1680. "We took up the green sod, and laid it by, and digged a hole in the earth, where we put our goods, and covered them with pieces of timber and earth, and then put in again the green turf; so that it was impossible to suspect that any hole had been digged under it, for we flung the earth into the river." These were often forgotten, or the owners never returned, and if they were made under the roots of some large tree, they may seem of high antiquity. Grain caches have always occurred in or about old forts, and are often open. Sometimes they are yet full of carbonized corn, but I have observed that the germ is destroyed.

In the early "New England Prospect," it is said, "Their corn being ripe, they gather it, and drying it hard in the sunne, conveigh it to their barnes, which be great holes digged in the ground in forme of a brasse pot, seeled with rinds of trees, wherein they put their corne, covering it from the inquisitive search of their gurmandizing husbands, who would eat up both their allowed portion, and reserved seede if they knew where to find it." The Iroquois women do not seem to have had this trouble, but openly used both the bark garner and the cache, making the latter in the same way.

In the Esopus war, of 1663, the Dutch found "last year's maize, which they still had in pits in great abundance in their corn-fields and around their fort." At this time they cut down about 250 acres of corn, "and burnt above a hundred pits full of corn and beans." When the Onondaga fort was burned, in

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1696, the caches of corn were so hastily made that they were easily discovered by the French. De Nonville also found a vast amount of corn in the Seneca caches, in 1687, besides all the rest. This burial of grain and implements has caused an erroneous antiquity to be imputed to some things, and the addition of fresh earth to the floors of lodges is the foundation of another frequent mistake. Fireplaces would naturally be hollowed out in houses: in an enemy's country it became a warlike precaution. In the account of 1666, this is mentioned as a common Iroquois practice: "When night falls they make a hole in the earth, where they kindle a fire with bark to cook their meat, if they have any, and that during three or four days."

Mr. Morgan fell into some errors regarding cooking and eating, in his zeal for a theory. We have accounts of feasts at almost all hours, and of every kind, but as a rule, even now, the men eat first. For the public feasts general offerings are made, and when the Planting Feast occurs, at a set time men and boys start out with bows and guns, to shoot all they can. This forms a kind of "pot luck," relished only by them. Every year, however, now sees innovations on ancient usages, and soon all customs of the famous Long House will have passed away.

END

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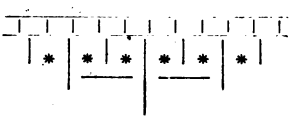
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ERRATA

Page 53, line 22, read Tarenyawagon.
Page 55, line 20, read 1694.
Page 57, line 7, read Sagochiendaguete.
Page 57, line 11, read one for our.
Page 58, line 31, read Tu-hah-te-ehn-yah-wah-kou.
Page 63, line 23, read contrived.
Page 64, line 29, read Pyrlæus.
Page 68, line 8, read Ho-was-ha-tah-koo.
Page 68, line 13, read Te-hat-kah-tons.
Page 68, place, "The Cayuga chiefs are next," before Te-ka-ha-hoonk.
Page 68, line 32, read Ha-ta-yon-e.
Page 69, line 3, read Des-kah-he.
Page 69, line 25, read principle.
Page 71, line 32, read Vanderkemp.
Page 82, line 12, read Manitoulin.
Page 85, line 14, read Ononhouaroria.
Page 104, line 16, read Hochelaga.

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